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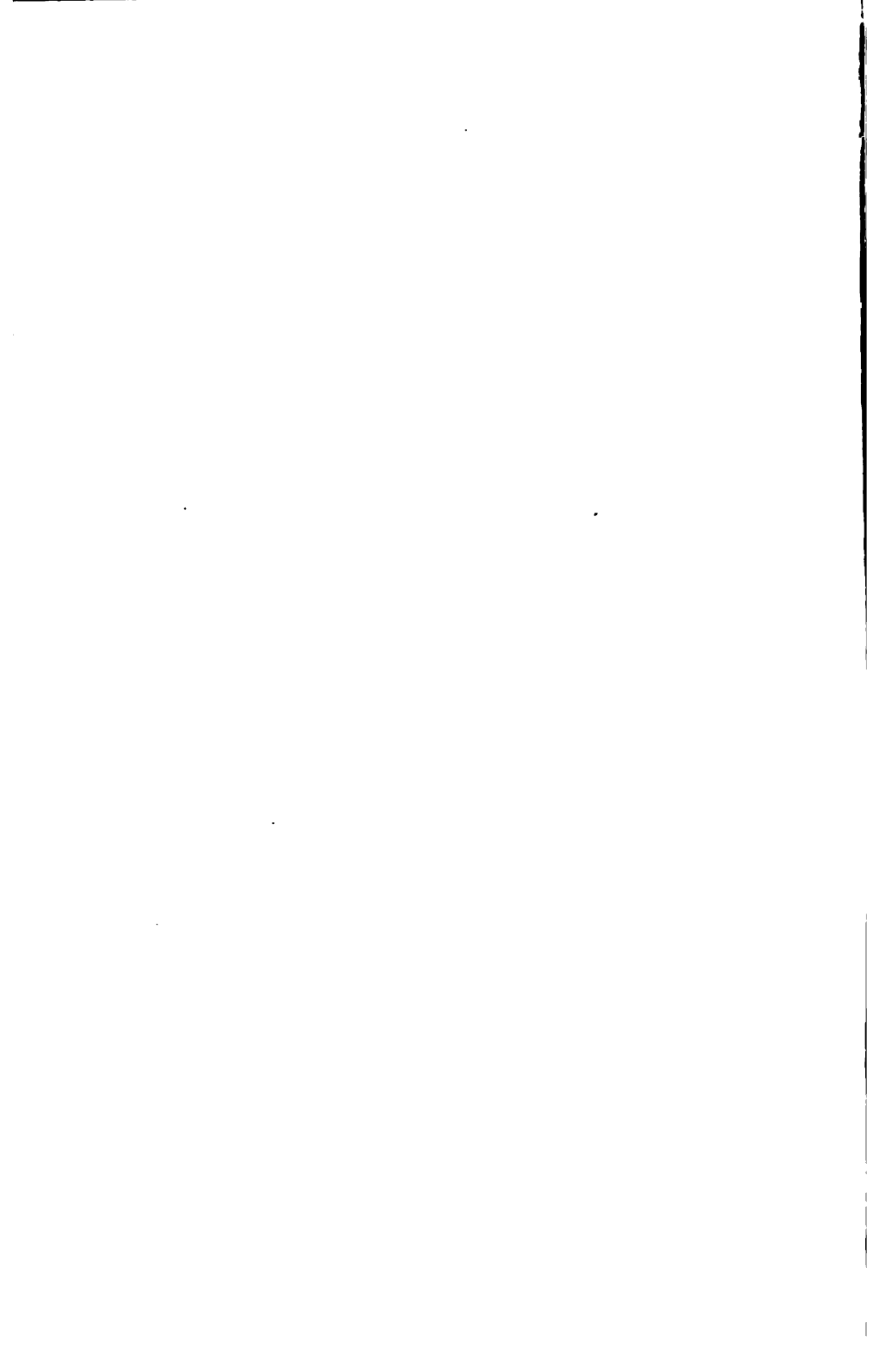
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THE
SPEECHES AND PUBLIC LETTERS
OF
THE LIBERATOR;
WITH

PREFACE AND HISTORICAL NOTES.

BY
M. F. CUSACK,
AUTHOR OF "THE LIFE AND TIMES OF THE LIBERATOR,"
"THE ILLUSTRATED HISTORY OF IRELAND,"
ETC. ETC.

"I have struggled for happy homes and altars free."
Speech at Athlone, Aug. 1825.

VOL. II.

DUBLIN
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1875.

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UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA

THE UNPUBLISHED SPEECHES

OF

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

PARLIAMENTARY SPEECHES.

*Subject, CONFIDENCE IN MINISTRY—ADJOURNED DEBATE ;
Date, JULY 31, 1840.*



MR. O'CONNELL—Sir, it is not my intention to trouble the House with any reply to the speech, the able speech, no doubt, which has just been delivered by the hon. and learned member for the University of Oxford. I certainly had not the good fortune to hear that speech throughout, and I therefore leave the unbroken force of whatever arguments the hon. and learned member has adduced to the benefit of the party of hon. gentlemen opposite ; and I leave the ministry to bear the whole brunt of whatever arguments the hon. and learned member had adduced against him. I solemnly assure the House, that it is with unfeigned regret that I feel it my inevitable duty to address them on this occasion ; and that regret is not a little en-

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hanced by the circumstance, that, although various matters have been brought forward, so abundant as to tempt me to trespass on the House at greater length than the House would, probably, be willing to endure, and certainly, than I should be disposed to occupy, I do not think that this debate is likely to raise this House in the opinion of the public or of the statesmen of Europe. I do not think there has been any of that sagacity which might have been expected to have been exhibited by statesmanlike minds; on the contrary, a species of paltry controversy has arisen, undeserving of such an occasion as the present—this momentous occasion. The great question which the House has to decide is, how this great empire is to be governed and managed; because the manner of management in the present case depends on the men who have the conduct of public affairs. We have to decide upon what principles twenty-four millions of British subjects are to be governed. We have also to decide upon the fate of probably one hundred more millions of human beings dependent on our control. And how has this subject been discussed? Seven or eight gentlemen who have spoken, have talked of where I dined. Yes, this has been a fruitful subject of eloquence for the great statesmen who have addressed the House on this most important occasion. I really do think that the ridicule will be interminable, the laughter inextinguishable, when it goes abroad that the greatest question which has ever agitated this House has been decided by the frequency with which I have dined with the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The case, indeed, is twice as strong as it has been put, for I have dined twice with his Excellency. I am glad that the gentlemen opposite did not discover this sooner, for then, instead of five, we should have had ten discourses on the subject. If the hon. gentlemen opposite only knew the excellence of the wines and the dinner, so as to have described them, there can be no doubt that they would have carried by a greater majority a motion in opposition to anybody who has dared to give them a good dinner. I dare say I keep a fair ledger account of my hospitality with most people, and I hope I have given quite as

many dinners as I have received. I will now pass to another subject. I have been the subject of many observations in the course of this debate. I have been called a Repealer; why, sir, I am a Repealer; and has anything happened in the course of this debate to shake me in that opinion? What said the hon. member for Durham (Mr. Liddell)? did he speak of this being the Parliament of the United Kingdom? He talked of English and Irish majorities. He stated as a charge against the present Government that they had an Irish majority. The question has been asked publicly, and I ask it again, is there any difference between an Irish and an English majority? And the hon. gentleman has introduced into this discussion the fact of my having been honoured with the offer of the Chief Baroncy of the Exchequer in Ireland. And what was the defence? Why, at that period the Repeal agitation had ceased in Ireland, because the people of Ireland had hopes that the House would do justice to Ireland. But I refused that offer, and I think that that is an example likely to be followed by the other side. I am sorry to speak of myself, but really I am forced to do so. I refused that offer upon two grounds: first, because I could not trust myself to accept it; for I own candidly that I was afraid that I should fall into partiality to one party or another, that I should either show favour to those who agreed with me in religion and politics, or, which is the worst partiality, that I should decide in favour of my opponents when they were in the wrong, in order that I might avoid the accusation of doing wrong myself. Thanking respectfully those who made that offer, I refused and rejected it on the ground stated. I have seen some men talk loud and long—men, violent in their politics, and truculent in their language—merely to enforce themselves into notice, in order that they might have the chance of such an offer. The right hon. baronet opposite (Sir James Graham) has done me the honour to notice me particularly, and with that candour for which he is so eminent, has charged me with having compared myself with Papineau; and then the right hon. baronet proceeded to state that Papineau was a traitor, who had fled from

his country, not daring to stand his trial when a charge of high treason was brought against him. I appeal to the House, whether the right hon. baronet did not assert that I had compared myself to Papineau. The right hon. baronet ought not to have forgotten, and if he had not learned, he ought not to have assailed me. He ought not to have forgotten to read the remainder of the passage in which I compared myself to Papineau. I did venture to do so. I said that we both had considerable popular influence, but that he had an advantage over me, because he had a majority in the Commons' House of Parliament in his favour; but I went on to say, that he was a traitor to the people as well as to the Crown; because, instead of using moral means when it was in his power to do so, he had resorted to physical force.

The right hon. baronet took care to omit the remainder of the passage which I have just quoted. I succeeded, Papineau failed, and for this very reason, that I looked to nothing but moral means, he resorted to physical force. I have said more than enough on this subject. I now ask the House, after this debate has lasted so long, what are the principles of government that have been held out by hon. gentlemen opposite? Their case is this: they come before the country and ask this House to turn the present ministry out, and let them in, not merely to declare a want of confidence in the present ministry, but to declare confidence in those who must replace them. That is a matter of course. What foundation do they lay for this? Have they declared on what principles they intend to govern? We have heard a great deal of attacks on ministers, of gibes and jeers at the result of the division, and yet we have not heard one distinct affirmative annunciation of the principles on which the gentlemen opposite intend to govern. We have not heard what they will do in England, and, least of all, what they mean to do in Ireland. I ask, what are their principles? Hon. gentlemen opposite say that the country is much disturbed, that disaffection prevails amongst numerous classes, that dissatisfaction is

widely spread, and we heard numerous accounts of the state of the middle counties from the hon. member for the county of Nottingham (Mr. Gally Knight). That account, I dare say was not exaggerated, however frightful it may be. Armed Chartists, secret lodges, organization of men, weapons of a most fearful character, and, worse of all, English conspiracies for assassination—yes, nine or ten victims marked out for assassination—such is the state of England, as described by the hon. member. We have heard of outbreaks at Sheffield and at Bradford, of rebellion in Wales, and that the situation of England is so bad as not to be described; and at such a period as this, have hon. gentlemen opposite no panacea to offer? Have they no cure? Do they think that the people of England have no grievances? Will they tell us that they will redress those grievances? Will they redress any of them? We have now been debating four nights, and we have not yet been told of any plan for the redress of those grievances. Talk of force, every constitutional force has been used, and whenever an outbreak has occurred, it has been met by the present ministers with more than abundant force to suppress it. What will hon. gentlemen do? Will they redress the grievances of the country? Will they turn Thorogood out of gaol and free the Dissenters? Will they prevent the gaols from being filled by those who follow Thorogood's example, and, acting under what gentlemen opposite call a mistake, but certainly what I call a conscientious feeling, offer resistance to the impost of church-rates? Will they do this? No, they talk not of doing it. They dare not do it, for if any of them thought of doing it, instantly the party would break up. How stands hon. gentlemen opposite on this subject, which is so interesting to Dissenters and Roman Catholics? Will the gentlemen opposite decide this question and give relief? When the present Government proposed a plan to ameliorate the law upon this subject, by a better collection of the revenues of the Church, having the additional advantage of giving

6 *Disaffection of the Working Classes in England.*

a fixity of title to the tenants of ecclesiastical property, and applying the surplus to relieve the country from the payment of church rates, this plan was successfully resisted by the gentlemen opposite, and they thus left that grievance festering in the country, and producing very naturally disaffection and disturbance. But hon. gentlemen opposite dare not do otherwise. The hon. baronet, the member for Oxford University (Sir R. Inglis) chuckles at this, and will no doubt point to the number of petitions he has presented in favour of Church extension. I tell the hon. baronet, and he will not deny it, that this means a grant of public money. I ask, at once, does the hon. baronet mean to give the public money to the present Church? You cannot give Church extension without public money. I ask, then, is this one of the cures, one of the emolients for the grievances of the country which the gentlemen opposite are ready to administer? If they give public money to the Church of England, must they not give it to the Church of Scotland, and with what face can the Protestant Dissenter and the Roman Catholic be called upon to support a party whose great object is to protect Protestantism by drawing out of the public purse the greatest possible quantity of money they can lay hold of? Perhaps, if the gentlemen opposite had not already stated it, they will now state what they are determined to do upon the Corn Laws? In the present state of the country, I ask them, do they think that the working classes, disaffected as they are, breaking out into rebellion as they are, do they think that those classes will be pacified by holding out to them the impossibility of altering the Corn Laws? Talk of difference of opinion on this side of the House, but what is it compared with the difference amongst the trading members on the other side on this subject, leaving to the present ministry this advantage, that with them it is an open question, and some of them voted for going into committee and making an inquiry, the first great step towards the repeal of an unjust law? but gentlemen opposite tell the starving

manufacturers, that they are to have no relief from the present graduated scale of duty—a duty increasing as the price falls; and diminishing as the price rises.

Will gentlemen opposite ask the country to rally round them on this question? I do not think they will be wise to do so. Let me remind the members of the House who may be disposed to place confidence in gentlemen opposite, to pause before they admit those gentlemen to be capable of curing the public diseases, and of putting an end to the disaffection of the operative classes. It is advisable first to look abroad, and inquire what are the feelings of the people. There have been three meetings held of late at the great town of Manchester. The first was a meeting of the middle classes, composed of three or four thousand men, and need I inform the House what was the result of that meeting? The second was a meeting of the operative classes, amounting to about five thousand men. Did hon. gentlemen opposite hear of the conduct of those men? of the propriety of their demeanour? of their respectful attention to those who differ with them in opinion? and of the distinctness with which they applauded everything that was argumentative, and rejected all that was mere declamation? Talk of danger to the Throne, and of the disaffections of the people; if that danger really exist, if there be that disaffection, if they place themselves in opposition to the general and just call for the repeal of the Corn Laws, see how they would aggravate the mischief and increase the disaffection. There was a third meeting at Manchester on Tuesday last—the very day on which this debate commenced. That meeting was composed of seven thousand persons, and the discourses there delivered would do no discredit to this House; and I ask, are such men to be shaken in their determination by those who refused any remedy? It is worth while to ask this question, when we recollect that what we have to consider is, whether we shall have as ministers men who will give no relief whatever to the manufacturers, or those who leave the Corn Laws an open question; we leave it for discussion and evidence, to convince even those who

are unwilling yet to yield. I say, choose between them ; but before you choose, hear the voice of those who are principally interested, and hear the interpretation put upon those laws by the operatives. At the great meeting, to which I referred, an operative, of the name of Filligan, spoke in the following terms :—

“ I, too, will say, that if I were to come forward, and say as a working man, that the repeal of the Corn Laws is a final measure of reform, I should deserve all the opprobrium you can heap upon me. I come forward to advocate the repeal of the Corn Laws, as a step towards getting what it is the inherent right of every individual to have who is a born subject in this country. I do not attend here to-night for the purpose of asking the aristocracy to pass a law to make bread cheap. I only ask for a repeal of that law which makes bread dear. I do not stand here to ask the aristocracy to pass a law that will infringe on the private property and vested rights of any individual, but I ask for a repeal of that law which infringes upon my private property and vested rights. The aristocracy say, that if you repeal the Corn Laws, you infringe upon their vested rights ; but I ask every working man, has he no estate ? Was I not born in a most noble estate—the industry of these hands ? And I contend that any law which prevents me exercising my industry is an infringement of my private property. Consequently, I stand here to demand a repeal of the landlord's robbing laws.”

This language comes from a man who as yet has not joined the Chartists, but he calls the Corn Laws robbing laws. The gentlemen opposite tell this man that they stand by these laws, that they are necessary for landlords, that they are, like the laws of the Medes and Persians, unalterable, whatever be the consequences ; and do they expect that such a man would give them his support ? Is such conduct likely to allay this dissatisfaction of the country ? And, I ask, are those wise statesmen, who, because the landed aristocracy and the clergy have joined their party, refuse to hear the working-man pleading for his just rights, and entreating to be allowed to earn the greatest possible quantity of bread by the labour of his hands ? There is another topic upon which gentlemen opposite have no kind of hope. Hon. gentlemen on this side of the House have been taunted with finality upon the subject of reform. The word “finality” dropped from them, and has been fathered on them by some

friends and by many enemies. There is no doubt of the finality of the gentlemen opposite on this subject. I cannot but regret the secession of the noble lord, the member for Northumberland; but in that secession, I do not know that he has shown as much of good sense as of nobleness of feeling. This I know, that this secession has shown that there is a desire for progression on this side of the House, for the noble lord has forsaken ministers. I know not the limits of their differences; but he has forsaken them because they were more progressive than they wished. With gentlemen opposite it is quite otherwise. There is to be no extension of the present franchise. Not one other Englishman is to be admitted into the franchise. No; the gentlemen opposite are determined to restrain the community within the paltry measure of the extent of the Reform Bill. What sanctity have gentlemen opposite discovered in the Reform Bill that they refuse to persons equally well entitled with those who enjoy it, a participation of the benefits of the franchise. I am not speaking to you alone, but to the people of England, whom you exclude from the franchise, and from whom, when they apply to be restored to it, you turn away, and refuse to listen to them. You place yourselves in the high and lofty situation of being solely entitled to political power, and you spurn from you those you would claim to share it with you. Now, upon what hereditary prescription do you lay claim to this exclusive authority in the State? The right hon. baronet, the member for Pembroke—he, to be sure, is of high descent; he traces his pedigree to John of the Bright Sword; and the noble lord, he claims descent from no less a personage than Edward the Confessor—and they tell the artizans, from their high and irresponsible position, not to come “between the wind and their nobility.” This might possibly be borne from them; but the right hon. baronet, the member for Tamworth, his case is different; he came from a lower but a more illustrious origin—his position and circumstances were the rich reward of talent and industry, which, however, would never have produced their fruits but for the high and unblemished integrity with which

they were accompanied. The industrious people of England had, therefore a right to complain of the hon. baronet, for he had belonged to their class, and now he turned about upon them, and would deprive industry and integrity of that participation in the legislation of the country to which they were as much entitled as himself.

Why, what was the theory of the constitution but this—that taxation was just because the people were represented, and were taxed by their own representatives; but that it would be a robbery if the people were taxed by other authority than that of their representatives? The party opposite said the people should not be represented; and yet their own writers told them that if they were not represented it would be a robbery. They had told the people of England that there are two classes in the state; the first, a master class, being householders of £10 a year, and that those should be represented; and a slave class, which did not come within their category, and who were not to be represented. These were told to begone; ample as were their grievances—just and equitable as were their claims, redress they should have none. And yet that party now dare to appeal to the country, and say they would govern the country supported by the sense of that people whom they would exclude for ever from the franchise. No; they do not even hold out a hope that at some future period the unfranchised shall be admitted to their rights. No; they have taken their stand upon this point, and they thought they would be right in taking the sense of the country upon it. And what said the people upon this subject? At the same meeting to which I have just referred, an address was agreed to to this House, in which he read the following passage:—

“Still we are burdened with sinecures and pensions, outraging the feelings of every honest and industrious man, a political state Church, that, by its extortions and intolerance, under the cloak of religion, brings the sublime and hallowed doctrines of Christianity into disrepute; a standing army as numerous and expensive as if we were at war with all Europe; a ponderous debt that presses most disastrously on the financial interests of the country; a new

Poor Law brought into existence whilst the cursed and abominable Corn Law exists, by which the food of the people is restricted, at the same time they are starving by thousands in the land of their birth; and in the midst of all this we are told that the reforms already effected are to be final, and that no further relief from our present state of political slavery shall be afforded us by you. Already has this doctrine of finality being productive of the most disastrous effects. A spirit of disaffection has exhibited itself in different parts of the empire, and the lives of some of our fellow-subjects have been sacrificed. We deeply deplore this; we are as much opposed to violence as yourselves or any other body of men in her Majesty's dominions. We have never joined in any effort that has been made to alter the present state of things by force. We are determined to seek for and obtain our rights by all lawful and constitutional means; but we hesitate not to express our apprehension that, unless such concessions be speedily made by you as shall meet the wants, the wishes, and the intelligence of the people, the recent outbreaks are only the forerunners of an amount of destruction and loss of life that will be productive of incalculable mischief to the best interests of the country, and will leave a stain on the character of its legislation that will not be easily obliterated."

This was their declaration. Now he would ask (the hon. and learned member continued), were these people to be excluded for ever from a voice in the state? and, above all, was the doctrine about illegal meetings to be pressed to this extent that it would be in the power of the Government of the day to prevent these meetings, which might probably be looked upon as the safety-valve in our political scheme, allowing the evaporation of passions which might explode and burst the whole machine. He did not advise an appeal to force; but when he found a total refusal to accord the just rights of the people—a flat denial of all redress for any of their grievances—when they found this producing irritation and disaffection throughout the country, he asked how could the party opposite pretend to undertake the administration of affairs under such circumstances? Yet the noble lord opposite said last night that he was ready to take office—that he was ready to assume this responsibility, and at this very moment. Let him do so—let him come into power; and then let him immediately proceed to increase the army, to increase the police force, and to arm the yeomanry throughout

the country; and with these materials risk the edifice of the state to its very foundations? But what would they do with Ireland? How would they govern Ireland? By whom, and for whom would they attempt to govern Ireland? Would they attempt to govern her by the party who had in this debate expressed their dissatisfaction of the present Government, by such perfect specimens of meekness and modesty as the learned serjeant for instance, and of course with a total absence of political feeling. He asked again, how would they govern Ireland, and by whom? He knew that the right hon. baronet would this evening give the House some very excellent phrases of conciliation, and make ample professions of his intention of doing justice, with impartiality, to all. But he had heard the same sentiments before from the right hon. baronet, and uttered, he had no doubt, with equal sincerity; and the right hon. baronet's entire sincerity he would not for a moment call in question. But was not the right hon. baronet the same man as when he was last in office? Were not his opinions the same? And the gallant officer, too, than whom a braver soldier did not live; he had not changed his opinions since he last governed Ireland; and yet when he went over to Dublin in 1834, where did the orange flag wave? It was hoisted as the right hon. and gallant officer's banner. No! The fact was the right hon. baronet had not the materials amongst his party to govern Ireland. Ireland was in a state of suppressed rebellion, which would break out into open insurrection at the very idea of such a Government coming again amongst them. The hon. member for Wakefield, whom he was sorry to see abandoning the protection which Ireland had been proud to receive from him, had talked in this debate as if there were two parties to determine between. But now, what were those two parties? There was a whole people on one hand, and a party on the other. If that party prevailed, the cause of the people was lost. He would entreat the House to consider something of the history of Ireland.

It would be taxing their patience too much to go back to

the times before the Union. Ireland had suffered for six hundred years (*ironical cheers and laughter from the Opposition*). Was that laugh intended to deny the fact? If so, he pitied their ignorance who uttered it; or if it were not so intended, and the fact once admitted, he could not respect the feeling which dictated it. Ireland had suffered six hundred years of oppression; and this was a fact which hon. gentlemen opposite laughed at. But what was the history of Ireland since the Union? For between twenty-nine and thirty years—for the Whigs had been in office but one year during that period—the Tory party had governed Ireland, and for twenty-five years out of that time the Habeas Corpus Act had been suspended, or the Peace Preservation Act had been in operation, depriving the people of their constitutional rights. Twenty-five years had they thus coerced Ireland, and why had they not quieted her? And how would they hope to quiet her now, if they came into office? Was there an individual of that party who would not raise the shout of exultation, if the right hon. baronet were to come into office—and would they not kindle bonfires from one end of the country to the other to signalise their new advent to power? The learned serjeant had been obliged to admit the present tranquillity of Ireland; and was ever such an admission made before in this House; was there ever a four days' debate in this House in which so little had been said about Ireland? How different from the serjeant's course on former occasions, when he came down with his hands full of lists and documents, and papers as bulky as a volume of the statutes at large, and gravely impeached magistrates and officers without number. But if tranquillity was shown to exist in Ireland, had the party of the learned serjeant done anything to promote it? Not by any act of their Government, for, thank heaven, they were not in power; perhaps they had done so by their recommendations; but was there any one who could get up and say, that he had heard anything of a conciliatory nature uttered at any one of their meetings? If there had been such, it had since been buried, and lost in silence. But, on the other hand, had they

not by their Press worked in a way directly the reverse, pouring out the vials of their wrath against every person and every principle dear to the people of Ireland? Their leading journal had gone to an enormous extent in order to assist in walking them into power to-night. What was the language used in this journal in respect to the Irish people? They were called "brutes," "ignorant savages," "worse than the cannibals of New Zealand." What was said of the clergy? That they were "surpliced ruffians," "sanguinary monsters," "a demon priesthood." Good heavens! Was he in a civilized—a Christian country? Day after day, and week after week, were these abominable insults poured out against the clergy of the people of Ireland; men who had clung to the cause of their suffering fellow-countrymen with desperate fidelity—who were their only comfort and friend when deserted and oppressed by all the rest of the world, and when, at the bed of sickness and death, the blood of youth was prematurely sapped by disease and poverty. He repeated it—the opposite party had done nothing to promote the tranquillity which existed in Ireland at the present moment; but, on the contrary, the very reverse. How had their clergy acted? The noble lord last night pronounced an eloquent eulogism upon Mr. M'Neile; he had spoken of his charity, of his eloquence, and of the admirable tenets which he had heard in a speech delivered by him. He (Mr. O'Connell) would now beg to read a passage from a sermon delivered by that reverend gentleman at Manchester. What said this reverend and charitable minister of God:—

"War, war to the knife. They tell you that you are ministers of peace, but where are we to find that, I ask? Not in any part of the Scripture that I know of. There is nothing like it in the Bible. We are the ambassadors of Christ." [*Oh, oh!*]

What! were they tired with so short a sermon?—

"We are ambassadors of Christ—Christ, who said, you think that I come to bring peace amongst you, but I come to bring a sword. What peace can you expect to have whilst the woman Jezebel lives in the land?"

This was one of their moderate supporters ! But who was this woman Jezebel ? He knew there were many persons who said it was the Queen. He did not say so himself, though he had thought it so when first he heard the observation ; but its application in that manner had been denied by the rev. gentleman, and, therefore, he did not take it in that light now. But if it was not the Queen, who was the woman Jezebel ? What could the term mean but the religion which was professed by the great majority of the Christian world ? It was either the Queen, or the religion of Ireland, and of the greater part of all Europe. The Irish people were still tranquil, although the Tory party put the English clergy in the pulpit to preach down their clergy and their religion in this abominable manner. And this was the preacher who, together with Mr. M'Ghee, was invited by Lord Wharncliffe, a gentleman not naturally given to fanaticism, but perverted to it by the baneful influence of politics, to meet the Protestant Association in Sheffield. Now, he wanted to know what had been preached here. Had there been no fanaticism directed against the Queen ? Had there been no treason directed against her ? The man who spoke of Victoria might say he did not mean the Queen ; but he (Mr. O'Connell) could hardly lend credit to the assertion. However, when he came to the person whose speech he meant by-and-by to read, he would give him the explanation he had made or could make. But what were the sermons which had been preached ? He knew that the House was averse to the reading of extracts, and he would not intrude upon it by any lengthened quotations, but he held in his hands a couple of documents from which he could not withstand the temptation of selecting a few passages. The first was a sermon delivered at Worcester on the 5th of November last, by a remarkable preacher, the Rev. Frank Hewson, who said :—

“ We see a striking resemblance to the dispensing power which James II. assumed, now pursued by the Government, in not enforcing the remaining laws against Popery. More, we see a striking resemblance to the foreign influence which James was under, in the present position of affairs at Court,

in the crowds of followers who infest the palace of our Queen, and fill her mind with Popish and un-English sentiments."

The orator went on to Universities, Education, Papists, the Privy Councillors, Dissenters, Horror, Town Councils, and winds up with—

"Lastly, there is a striking resemblance to the supposed birth of a Prince of Wales in the time of James II., to the supposed marriage of our Queen to a German prince, whose family are all Papists. When an heir was born to James, the hope of England fell to the ground. In the prospect of a nominal Protestant becoming the husband of our Queen, is the prospect any better?"

James II. lost his throne, and deserved to lose it; but what was the inference which this preacher would draw from the parallel which he instituted? Why, that as James II. lost the throne for leaning to Popery, so Queen Victoria should be deprived of her crown for marrying a pretended Protestant. He (Mr. O'Connell) came next to the sentiments of a man who took a higher tone. He was now going to direct the attention of the House to the celebrated speech at Canterbury. Before he did so, however, wishing to act with perfect fairness to the person whose name was at the head of this speech, he must observe that that person had declared that the object of his attack was not the Queen but the ministry. He would only observe, let those who knew that person best, believe him most. He would read the speech, and leave the House to judge of the person to whom it was intended to be applied. Thus it begins:—

"First, I shall direct your attention to the fearful growth of Popery, allied as it is with atheism, infidelity, and the voluntary, or anythingarian principle. Her Majesty's ministers have recognised this medley as their rule of faith, as exemplified in their precious scheme of education without religion; and I grieve to say, that her Majesty herself has shown too much countenance to the enemies of the Protestant Church. Brought about under the auspices of the citizen-King of the Belgians, the serf of France, and guided by his influence, the Queen thinks that if the monarchy lasts her time it is enough."

Meaning thereby, as the speaker afterwards explained, the ministers. Truly an ingenious innuendo; reduced to plain English, it was to read thus:—

“Brought up under the auspices of the citizen-king of the Belgians, the serf of France, and guided by his influence, the ministry think that if the Monarchy lasts its time it will be enough. But the people of England will never consent that the Crown shall be degraded and debased for the inglorious ease of any created being. [*Here there were tremendous cheers.*] Nor will they consent that the personal wishes and caprices of the Sovereign (the ministry again) shall direct the conduct of the executive. The Monarchy has its rights, but it has also its duty. The people of this country will not be trampled on by Pope or Sovereign (still less by the ministry); still less will they endure that a petty German prince shall hold the fair realm of England in fee farm. We have not forgotten the forced abdication of the second James (this, of course, applied to the ministry); nor are we ignorant that the title of the throne of these realms is that derived from a Protestant princess. No one can regret more than I do the growing unpopularity of the Queen (meaning the growing unpopularity of the ministry) and her court (meaning the court and the ministry). But, look at the composition of that court and its acts. The courts of former sovereigns have been as frivolous, more vicious even, than the present, but the government of the country and the direction of public affairs have been carried on by statesmen of known and recognised ability, honour, and independence; men who were neither the boon companions of the sovereign, nor the willing slaves of his follies and caprices (this was all the ministry). I believe, in my conscience, that the favourite equerries are younger, better looking, and better dressed men than Sir Robert Peel; that Lord Melbourne can tell a tale meet for a lady's ear far better than the Duke of Wellington; and that neither Lord Stanley nor Sir James Graham can compete with my Lord Normanby in getting up a pageant.”

He supposed that every loyal man in the House wished to have the Queen spoken of in that manner. Was there a gallant officer on the opposite benches who did not feel indignant that such language should be applied to the Queen. Was there a really loyal man in the House who would not deplore and denounce such ribaldry. 'Twas said that these observations were not intended for the Queen; that they were insinuations against the ministry. He would read a few more extracts, and leave the House to judge for itself:—

"Look at the appointments that these men and women have lately made. There is not one of them that is not a direct insult to the nation. See the Irish Papists preferred to place, to power, and to patronage. I shall take leave, on thus referring to them, to contrast the solemn oath sworn by her Majesty at her coronation with her subsequent acquiescence in these acts. This oath is the compact made between the sovereign and the people; its obligations are mutual. I will now read it to you, and be you judges whether or no they have been truly fulfilled. Here are the late appointments of Papist councillors. I take them together, and thus I cast them from me with disgust and indignation."

One passage more he would be ready to read, which really related to the ministry. But, before he did so, he must observe that, as a man of conscience, he could not do otherwise than believe that all the passages to which he had just called the attention of the House related to the Queen, and to no one else. It was painful to him to contradict any assertion that any gentleman might make; but, was there a man in the House—was there one in the Opposition benches, who could not stand up and say that the passage he had quoted applied to the Queen? The speaker came forward to the minister, of whom he said:—

"His sheet anchor is the body of Irish Papists and rapparees, whom the priests return to the House of Commons. These are the men who represent the bigoted savages, hardly more civilised than the natives of New Zealand, but animated with a fierce, undying hatred of England. I repeat, then, deliberately, that the Papists of Ireland, priest and layman, peer or peasant, are alike our enemies; aliens as they are, in blood, language, and religion."

The last remark he (Mr. O'Connell) did not attribute to the Canterbury orator. He admitted that it was a quotation from a much greater man, a quotation borrowed from a speech of the leader of that party which they were told made the ministry weak in the House of Lords, and gave to the Conservatives power—

"Aliens in blood, language, and religion. Yet on these ——"

Here, again, the speaker came back to the Queen—

"Yet on these men are bestowed the countenance and support of the Queen of Protestant England. But, alas! her Majesty is queen only by a faction, and is as much a partisan as the Lord Chancellor himself."

The "partisan!" There was, of course, the ministry.

"But shall we quail at the impending danger, and meanly submit without a struggle? No; we will present the same bold front as did our fathers of old; and God defend the right."

This was magnanimous, but nothing to what followed.

"We will resist to the death ill-government and unjustly usurped authority. Petitions to the Crown are an idle mockery. We will no longer submit to be governed by a profligate court. It is in your hands, my friends—it is in the hands of the people of England, that her destinies are placed for good or for evil."

Some comment had been made in the course of the debate upon a reply which he (Mr. O'Connell) had made to that speech. He did not deny the statements attributed to him. He did say that against such a traitor—against the Tory domination of such traitors—he was able and willing to bring into the field 500,000 fighting men. He admitted that he said so, and he repeated it now. He had a kind of title to take such a course; for one of his ancestors, at the head of a regiment, fought and bled for the unfortunate James Stuart. He, therefore, had a sort of hereditary right to adopt this course. The hon. member for Maidstone, the other evening, entertained the House with some curious infelicities of literature. He spoke of the ruin of Charles I., and accused the House of Commons of that day having fantastically brought the Quaker, James Naylor, before it, adding, that the House had the barbarity to cut out his tongue. Now, it was hardly fair to accuse Charles I. of having any share in that act of brutality, because, in point of fact, it was committed five years after that monarch had been in his grave. The House of Commons who mutilated Naylor was

not elected under the King's Writ, but was summoned in soldier fashion by Cromwell. He was not defending the House of Commons which committed so barbarous an act; he was merely reminding the hon. member for Maidstone how it was that the fanaticism of which he spoke was brought about. It was brought about by M'Neils and M'Ghees of that day. Ministers of the Gospel were sent forth to preach of the Sovereign as a Jezebel. Thus it was that the fanaticism of that day took its rise, and he (Mr. O'Connell) would warn the hon. member for Maidstone, and the gentlemen who thought with him, that the fanaticism which, at that period, was guilty of such barbarous crimes, might, by the employment of similar means, be raised again in England. Had he not seen, within these few days, placarded on large carts ostentatiously driven through the streets of the town, "The horrors of Popery?" Were not meetings constantly held during the vacation? He could remind the House of dozens of them. Had not fanaticism been preached in every corner of the kingdom? Did they want to have another Bradshaw to preside at the trial of a queen? There was something ominous in that name. He called upon the House not to countenance by its votes anything which could lead to such abominations. But had this fanaticism no partizans, no organ by which it could appeal to the public; had it no newspaper press, no protectors? Why, he found that it was embodied in a volume, and dedicated to Lord Lyndhurst. The book was called, "The Metropolitan Conservative Press," and he found, on reading the pompous list of subscribers, that the names of the commoners began with that of Sir Robert Peel. Then came the right hon. F. Shaw, M.P., Recorder of Dublin, and, shortly afterwards, James Bradshaw, Esq., M.P. Then, turning back the page, he saw that the motto was, "Fear God—honour the Queen." He was aware that he had trespassed at some length upon the patience of the House; but he was anxious, if possible, to confirm, by his testimony, the fact that tranquillity, which, all admitted, now

prevailed in Ireland. He defied those who followed him in this debate—and he knew that he should be ably followed, for some of the ablest men in the nation had not yet spoken—but he defied those who should follow him to show that there was now anything of disturbances in Ireland. He was counsel for Ireland, and he appeared there to plead her cause. England was discontented and disaffected—Ireland was tranquil. England was distracted by lawless bands of physical-force Chartists—Ireland did not seek to attain her ends by violence, by resistance of the law, by destruction of property. In England, rebel bands were led against the armed soldiery; but those soldiers knew duty, and performed it. What were they? Irishmen. In England the lives of the gentry were threatened. A spirit of assassination had sprung up. The hon. member for Nottingham had described how the amiable fathers of families—respectable, unoffending men—had been marked out for assassination. Had the Irish in England joined the Chartists? Had they evinced a desire to link themselves with these assassins? With a few wretched exceptions, there were none. Had the Irish in England taken any part with the Chartists? They had grievances—they had sufferings—they had many causes of complaint. Did they join the Chartists? No; even the tradesmen of Dublin, whose combinations he opposed at the peril of his life, even they rejected Chartism. Ireland had become tranquil; no more calumnies would be uttered against her upon that score. Her military force was diminished, and why? Because the troops, which were necessary to struggle against rebellion, sedition, and treason in England, were not required to maintain the good order which prevailed in Ireland. Another speech of his had been referred to, or, at least, a part of it had been referred to, by the hon. and learned member for Coleraine, who had made extracts, and commented upon them, with about the same sort of candour as the hon. and learned serjeant (Serjeant Jackson) had shown in dealing with another speech. The hon. and learned member for Coleraine read that part of a speech of his (Mr. O'Connell's) in which he spoke of

the downfall of the funds, and so on. He asked, in that speech, what the three per cents. would be worth if Ireland were in rebellion, and the men of Kerry led on by himself, even though that news should be accompanied with intelligence that the chief agitator was put down, and the rebellion put down? How did he say that? What he said then he would repeat now. He was addressing himself to the Conservative party in England, and the purport of his address was this:—

“You, the gentlemen of England, who have property acquired, either by yourselves or your ancestors—who have all the blessings of this world surrounding you, Oh, send us not over a ministry that cannot govern us well—drive not the people to despair; let not an almost eternal civil war prevail. Oh! if you have mercy, stand between Ireland and an Orange ministry.”

He would now make that appeal again. He might make the appeal in vain. He knew that the party he dreaded—the party whose dominion in Ireland had been so fatal to all the best interests of that country—were surrounded on the present occasion, from every quarter of the kingdom, to see if it were possible, by a vote of that House, to regain something of their former ascendancy. He trusted he should never live to see that day. One of the most respectable amongst them had been chosen to be the leader of the attack. “Up, guards, and at them!” was their cry. Oh! he had seen these noble guards many a time; but he well remembered, that the meteor flag of England, borne by their intrepid hands, had never waved in triumph in the foughten field, where the commingling blood of the heroes who achieved the victory had not flowed in equal streams from the veins of the gallant Irish. He was a Repealer only when he could not get justice. He asked only for equality. If there was an Union—a real Union—he was entitled to ask for equality. If he had not equality he cared not for the Union. He wished not for repeal if he could get justice without it; but if he could not get it, then he knew of nothing that could prevent his applying for repeal. He had a right to do so; and if the

necessity arose, he would exert it. Never before had the House heard of the tranquillity of Ireland. But there was another feature in her case—a feature which had been slightly touched upon by the noble lord, the Secretary for Ireland. He had received a newspaper that day, which stated that more than 600,000 persons had given the pledge of temperance to Father Mathew. What was the result? A striking diminution in the amount of outrages and crimes. At Waterford, where the monthly return for outrages, for years past, had amounted to no less than 150, there was, during the last month, not one single case. They might think that its tranquillity was temporary. Oh! they did not know the tenacity of the Irish people. They had shown it in matters of war and contest, and they were capable of showing it in matters of the sublimest morality. It was that people who were now before the House of Commons, and who had been assailed only with the ribaldry of such as the learned would-be serjeant, the member for Coleraine. That people had come scathless from every one else. It was that people who now made their demand upon them. In the name of that people (said Mr. O'Connell in conclusion) I present this ministry to you, the first ministry that ever did justice to Ireland. I present them to you in the attitude of our friends—ay, and of your friends also; for they enabled us to afford security to you; and though they were not permitted by you to grant us the Parliamentary franchise in so complete a form as they desired, yet they did all they could to administer impartially the law which they could not amend as they wished. In the name of the Irish nation I present them to you. Will you vote against them, with the Hewsons, the M'Neils, the M'Ghees, and the Bradshaws? or will you vote for them, as I demand of you, in the sight of heaven, and in the name of God?

Subject, REGISTRATION OF VOTERS, IRELAND ;

Date, MARCH 26, 1840.

Mr. O'Connell remarked, that the noble lord had concluded by saying that this was not a party question. He supposed that it was mere accident that brought together such a crowded assembly. There was no intention of treating the question as a party question; it was accident, of course. Passing from that, he was really astonished at the length of time during which the noble lord kept up his tone of moderation, and kept down the disposition supposed to be natural to him. But at length the noble lord came to excommunication. There was nothing of party in that; there was no bigotry in that; no, nor in the sneer about the chapel. Never was there a culumny so unfounded. He defied the noble lord to prove it. There was one asserter of it, and one only, he meant in the evidence given before the Fictitious Votes Committee, or the Intimidation Committee, he did not know which; but as a practice which could be traced as prevalent in Ireland, that he utterly and contemptuously denied (*cheers*). He was not to be put down by mock cheers. Having disposed of this preliminary matter, he would proceed, if the House would condescend to listen to him; if not, he would take some other opportunity. He would now proceed. It was scarcely worth while to notice some arguments employed by the noble lord founded upon matters personal to himself. Those arguments first came from the right hon. gentleman the Recorder of Dublin, who read a speech of his from one of the Dublin newspapers, in which he was made to say, that he defied the Government to pass the measure of the noble lord. Now, he had never said so, nor did he see the report in which this language was attributed to him until he was on his way over from Ireland, and the first thing which he did when he arrived was, to go to the noble lord, and assure him that he said no such thing, referring him at

the same time to the newspaper which contained an accurate report of what he did say. That paper was the *Freeman's Journal*, and in that paper it was stated, that he did set at defiance, not the Government, but the enemies of Ireland and the most malignant amongst them ?

As he was on the subject of chronology, he would refer to some supposed contradiction between the report to which the noble lord had alluded and the petition. It so happened that the report was prepared first. That report cost him sixteen hours' work, and it contained at great length the detailed objections against the bill. The noble lord had had that report before him for several days, and he had not shown him to be wrong in any one single particular. This bill, although he did not say that such an object was intended, was with a vicious ingenuity calculated to annihilate the franchise of Ireland. The situation of Ireland was extraordinary—he might say pitiful. What had happened in the other House of Parliament? Subjects of the greatest importance, and most nearly affecting the interests of Ireland, were staved off, because, unhappily, one noble lord was ill, and another fantastic and learned lord was elsewhere. Ireland was waiting for the convalescence of a noble and learned lord who had called Irishmen aliens in blood, in religion, and language. Such an insult was never offered to any country. Ireland was also obliged to wait for another noble and learned lord, who had a great deal of wit and talent, but no wisdom; while at the same time the mighty leader of hon. gentlemen opposite said, that he never wished for a postponement of any question without a sufficient reason. The noble lord had been reading, he did not know from what documents, a manuscript history of the Reform Bill, as it was brought into the House of Commons. He did not know who the writer was, but he was certainly no accurate historian, for he placed him in the position of one who was anxious to raise and limit the franchise, whereas, all his efforts were directed towards the object of obtaining a franchise at least as low as that of England, and when he found he could not get

that, he divided the House upon the question of a £5 instead of a £10 franchise. And yet the noble lord gave the House a manuscript history of the transaction, in a style which he could only describe as chit-chatting, and represented him as desirous of narrowing the franchise. The noble lord ought to look back to that period with great regret. If he had possessed as statesmanlike a mind as he had talent for debate, he would have seen that he ought not to have thrown away that great occasion. It was a great occasion. The Reform Bill presented an opportunity of placing Ireland in the position which she ought to occupy. But the noble lord, while he gave to England great advantages, inflicted on Ireland mighty wounds. He met the noble lord from day to day, but he had found the noble lord in the Cabinet the perpetual enemy of his country. To him was to be attributed the restricted franchise which was imposed upon Ireland. This made the people of Ireland shudder at any measure which the noble lord introduced. In England the Reform Bill took away both the rotten and the nomination boroughs. It destroyed the rotten boroughs in Scotland, and it gave to Scotland eight additional members. Even to Wales, with a population of 800,000 inhabitants, the Government gave four additional members; but to Ireland, with a population of 8,000,000, they gave but five, indeed only four, for one member was given to the University of Dublin, and that might well be said to be a vote against Ireland. The right hon. gentleman, the Recorder of Dublin, had said that the Repeal of the Union was a cry fit only for old women and boys; it was well that the right hon. gentleman did not enter into either category. But he did not think that the public mind would be dissatisfied when a contrast was drawn between the relative positions of England and Ireland as affected by the Reform Bill. He knew well how difficult it was to restrain that feeling. The Reform Bill annihilated no franchise that it found in England. The owner of a 40s. fee, and the owner of a 40s. life estate, were left untouched by the bill. Every franchise that the Reform Bill found it left, and it augmented the number. But in

Ireland it destroyed several franchises. In several Irish boroughs there were voters entitled by the ownership of a 40s. fee and a 40s. life estate, and there was a £5 franchise in Dungarvan and Lismore. These franchises were all annihilated. He knew that the noble lord was not aware of what he had done. In Dublin there were 1,300 40s. freeholders; there were now only 14. And yet the noble lord boasted that he had extended the franchise in Ireland. But then it was said that the county voters were augmented. Why, the leasehold voters only amounted to 8,000. But the noble lord said that he gave Ireland the same £10 franchise as England—a franchise of a £10 value. He would, however, ask whether a franchise of a £10 value was the same franchise in London and Ennis, in Manchester and Tralee, in Bristol and Portarlington? There was the name, indeed, but not the reality; and yet the noble lord called this placing Ireland on an equality with England in regard to the franchise. The noble lord had repented even of that, and had brought in a bill, the object of which was, to deprive Ireland of the leasehold franchise conferred by the Reform Bill. The noble lord came for that purpose to the House at a moment when, as it seemed, it would be more agreeable to the noble lord, and it ought to be, to be elsewhere (*interruption*). It was not I (continued the hon. and learned member) who invited the noble lord here (*interruption*). I know the cause of these brutal exclamations (“*Adjourn*,” and “*chair*”). Nothing will keep those who are inimical to Ireland from the indulgence of their hostility towards that country. It is not my fault. I have heard of other instances which may, perhaps, be found among those who are accidentally present to-night. I will now come back to the point on which I was enlarging. The hon. and learned gentleman proceeded to say, that the noble lord had, in that honest explanation of his, which he had given that night, admitted that it was his intention to assist the landlords of Ireland in their endeavours to prevent their tenants from voting. There was not the slightest doubt that the bill would very considerably limit the franchise. Members

on his side of the House computed that it would annihilate two-thirds of the constituency of Ireland. It was also agreed by hon. members opposite, that the effect of the bill would be to limit the constituency. There was, then, no question between the two sides of the House as to its actual operation. Let it, then, be avowed, without any paltry hypocrisy, that the object of the bill was to annihilate the franchise. He would deal with the measure as if that were the avowed object. Hon. members opposite complained of fictitious votes. Was the constituency so extensive that they had a right to complain that persons were on the registry who ought not to be there? Were the people so extensively represented that it was of no importance how many votes were struck off the register?

Why did not hon. members come forward and say, "There are so many registered voters for the country that it is impossible, looking at the population, that they can all be fairly entitled to vote." He would show the disproportion between the representation of England and Ireland. In Westmoreland, after the Reform Act, the population was 35,046, and the number of voters 4,392; while Cork, which had a population of 700,366, had but 3,835 electors. Yet, with that fact staring hon. gentleman opposite in the face, they came forward with this Bill to destroy fictitious votes. The right hon. baronet, the member for Pembroke, had said that base falsehoods were resorted to for the purpose of getting on the Irish register. Whoever supplied him with that information asserted the basest of falsehoods. But he would go on with his comparison. Bedfordshire, with a population of 88,524, had 3,966 voters; while the Protestant county of Antrim, with 316,909 inhabitants, had only 3,484. What had the Protestant county of Antrim done that it should not have an equal number of voters with Bedfordshire? The noble lord was extremely anxious to carry this Bill, and to remedy the abuses which had crept into the registration. Now, he would ask, was there any abuse equal to an abuse of principle? But the noble lord not only suffered this enormous disproportion between the two countries to exist, but

he came to the House with a proposition for still further limiting the constituency of Ireland. But he would proceed. There was Rutland, with 19,000 inhabitants, and 1,296 voters; Longford had a population amounting to 112,391, while the number of electors was but 1,294. He knew he should fatigue the House by going on with these illustrations, but they were powerful for his object, and would operate powerfully on the honest hearts and common sense of the people of England, or, at least, they ought to do so. The noble lord was not acting of himself, but was propelled by others. He supposed the hon. member for Belfast had furnished the noble lord with law, as he had done with evidence. The hon. member came to the noble lord, and his name was put on the back of this Bill; or, in the phrase which the noble lord had applied in connection with Ireland, the Bill was branded with the names of the noble lord and the hon. member for Belfast, who had come reeking from his Orange lodge, his Orange toasts with nine times nine, the Kentish fire, and "No Surrender." Now, to return to the comparison between the number of voters in England and those in Ireland. In the Isle of Wight, with 228,731 inhabitants, there were 1,167 voters. In the county of Mayo, with 366,328 inhabitants, there were only 1,350; and in the county of Tyrone, with 310,000 inhabitants, only 1,151. So that Protestant Tyrone and Catholic Galway were mixed up in equal disfranchisement, not having so many voters as the Isle of Wight. Was he an Irishman and to say nothing on that point? Was he not bound to respect their sorrows, while more mischief was threatened to them? He would now take the two largest counties: Yorkshire, an agricultural county, with a population of 913,713, had 33,154 voters; whilst Cork, with 713,000 inhabitants, had only 3,385. Now, ought that proportion to remain? Ought they not to struggle to give to the people of Ireland an equal proportion of voters to the population, as there was in this country? He should be very short in his comparison of the cities of the two countries; but even there the same proportion existed. He had forgotten to give the noble lord

credit for having annihilated in the cities of Ireland the votes of joint tenants. Mark how important that was; for in Ireland no gentleman could have a vote for the premises which he held with his partners, although they might be worth £300 a year. He was told that Exeter Hall had furnished no less than eighty-five votes in the first year of the registration; while, in Ireland, if premises were of the same value, not a single vote could have been registered if they had been held by partners; and yet that was one of the things for which the noble lord taunted the law officers on his (Mr. O'Connell's) side of the House, because, in the Bill they had brought in, there was a clause to redress such a monstrous hardship. Ought they not, then, to put the franchise on a better footing before they talked of registration? Now, in Exeter, there were 27,000 inhabitants and 3,420 voters; but in Waterford there were 28,000 inhabitants, but only 1,278 voters. In Worcester there were 27,213 inhabitants, and 2,608 voters; in Limerick, 66,554 inhabitants, and only 2,850 voters. In Cork there were 110,000 inhabitants and 3,650 voters; while, in Newcastle-on-Tyne, with only 42,000 inhabitants, there were 4,952. He had shown, then, in the towns as well as in the counties, that there was a miserable defalcation of voters in Ireland. And now, having read those Parliamentary documents, he would turn round on hon. members opposite, and ask why they had spoken of that small and paltry number as fictitious voters? What scope was there for it? If, however, they succeeded in this Bill, then would Ireland be still more restricted in the number of her voters. Having made these preliminary observations, he would now state his objections to the Bill. He objected to it in principle, independent of its details. His first objection to it was that which the noble lord had called one of its merits. It was because it was purely and simply a registration Bill. He said that, in the nature of things, there ought first to be an explanation of the doubts as to the franchise before they entered into the question of registration. The great difficulty was the franchise. Nine-tenths of the struggles in the registration courts would never have

arisen if the franchise had been properly defined. They ought, while they defined it, to extend it; but to talk of registration with an undefined franchise was an absurdity. The great question at present was between the solvent and beneficial interest tenant. He knew there were some who contended that they meant the same thing; but they who were in Ireland knew that the battles in the registration courts chiefly turned on the question between the profit rent made by the solvent tenant and that of the beneficial interest. Some judges decided one way; some another. Some assistant-barristers held the one opinion, some the other. Now, suppose some assistant-barrister took the profit-rent mode of the solvent tenant, and allowed a vote, and that the judge was of the same opinion, and the oath was registered; while in another town the barrister took the beneficial interest mode, and the judge decided in the same way. Thus there would be two decisions directly opposite. Ought there to be that difference?

The hon. and learned gentleman, the member for Exeter, had given his opinion on this point. A more able lawyer there was not in the House, or out of it. A more agreeable, he would say, fascinating speaker he had never heard. But he regretted to find him always in the van when an attack was to be made on Ireland. He would not say that the hon. and learned member did not adhere to his principles; but he might be permitted to deplore the way in which they were exercised. When the Spottiswoodes, with their gang of conspirators, threatened to turn out every Liberal member from the House, who was their great and successful advocate? Who was it who found out particular cases in which similar practices had been pursued on particular occasions, and had drawn this inference from them, that it might be done on a great national scale? Who, but the hon. and learned member for Exeter? It was very fit, then, he should be one of the supporters of the noble lord. He was very much surprised, however, at something that had fallen from him. The hon. and learned gentlemen said he had heard of a judgment given by the judges in Ireland, on the question of

test, and said that that ought to be final. How could so able a lawyer have made that mistake? Where did he find one single clause in one single Act authorising the judges to meet at all on that subject, or that gave any appeal to them? No; if they had, then they must have heard counsel on both sides, pronounced their judgment, and given their reasons at large, and the public would have heard what that judgment was. He would not pretend to dispute with the hon. and learned member for Exeter upon a point of law; but this was a plain and palpable matter of fact. No judgment was given by the judges. There was, indeed, a sort of consultation among them, from which the clients themselves were excluded, and from which counsel also were excluded. He need not point out to the honourable and learned member the value of able and learned counsel in assisting judges to form their decision. This could not be called a judgment, it was a mere private consultation, and nothing else, and had been considered in that light by the judges themselves. The right hon. and learned member for the University of Dublin might assert that there could be no such things as political judges, that it was impossible for judges to be political partisans; but he (Mr. O'Connell) was of a different opinion, and thought that he who was a violent politician at the bar, would be a politician, more cool, more cautious, perhaps, but on that account more mischievous upon the bench. There stood he who had refused a high judicial office, solely because he would not trust himself to take a course by which there was a possibility of the administration of justice being polluted with political feelings. What were the opinions of the judges themselves, as to the weight to be attached to this decision of theirs, as it was called? Why, on one point, it was generally said, and generally believed, two of the judges dissented from the other ten. Did these two acquiesce in the decision of the majority? On the contrary, one of them said afterwards, he did not consider himself bound by such advice, for judgment it was not. On another point, five judges were supposed to have dissented from the rest, and, on this point, the

Chief Justice of the Court of Queen's Bench, in the case of George Pratt, Queen's County, had given judgment in a manner inconsistent with the conclusion to which the judges had come at the private meeting to which he had alluded. So far was the question from being settled, and settled by judicial decision, it could not be said that it was at that moment settled at all. And yet the noble lord opposite wanted to introduce the Regulation Bill, which would leave that important question still open. The noble lord had struggled to get out of his own declaration in 1829. "How should I," said the noble lord, "recollect what I said in 1829?" But it appeared from what the noble lord said in 1832, that he then had some scant recollection of what he had said in 1829; for then it was that the noble lord himself invented the beneficial interest test, and, having struck out the true principle, proclaimed it manfully. The question afterwards came to be considered in the House of Lords, in the discussions upon the Reform Bill, and there the principle met with the disapprobation of the Earl of Roden, a man who had never changed his opinion, on which account those who thought with him gave him their confidence, and those who differed from him respected him for his manly bearing. The noble lord then said that the introduction of such a principle into the Irish Reform Bill was effected by his (Mr. O'Connell's) manoeuvres. The noble earl did him too much honour, although he had certainly done his best to help the noble lord opposite in the course which he took. And yet the noble lord attempted to fritter away the effect of what he had done on this occasion, by bringing down some manuscript papers, for the purpose of showing that his (Mr. O'Connell's) opinions had been in favour of enhancing the franchise, when it was well known that he was anxious to lower it as much as possible. Was this question then still to remain undetermined? Every other bill contained a clause respecting the right of voting in the case of joint-tenancies, and tenancies in common, and another clause defining the beneficial interest to be the tenant's profit, and not the landlord's rent. But the noble lord took a

different course; he was content to leave litigation where he found it. This arose from his anxiety to exclude from the franchise as many as possible. That was a bad principle, and would not long be supported. Chartism had frightened many into the support of such a principle. But the Irish people had refused to join the Chartists. Chartism, he trusted, had passed away; but while it was at its height, and while timid men trembled at its progress, he reminded the House that the Irish people had refused to make common cause with the Chartists in demanding universal suffrage. And how did the noble lord propose to reward the Irish people for their conduct? Why, thus: he said, "I find your franchise small and miserable, and I will give you such machinery as will render it impossible for you to realise even the franchise which you possess." His (Mr. O'Connell's) first objection to the bill was, that it contained nothing to define or to enlarge the franchise.

It was said he had once been in favour of an annual revision and an appeal both ways; but why might he not change his opinion as well as the noble lord? He certainly had at first thought that the system which prevailed in England ought to be adopted in Ireland; but who then opposed him? Why, the noble lord himself. Who spoke against him on that occasion? The noble lord. He was then for an annual revision; but the noble lord was against it. It had changed sides since that time. But the reason why the change had been reciprocal was, that there had been great experience upon the subject; and how had that experience told? It showed that there was an organized resistance to an annual registry of the franchise; and he did not believe that it was practicable. His next objection was, that this Bill would disfranchise all Ireland at once. Every man who registered on the 20th of November last would lose the benefit of that registry. After six weeks' battling in Dublin there were registered in his interest a majority of three hundred votes. The entire registry consisted of from 1,100 to 1,200 voters. They went through the ordeal; attorney, and counsel, and witnesses were brought on both sides; and now they were

to be deprived at once of their rights, and disfranchised by this Bill! Where could they find such a sweeping measure of disfranchisement as this? Where was there exhibited such a contempt of vested rights as this? Would any one turn upon him and say, "Were there no such sweeping clauses in the Bill of 1835?" Why there were in that Bill those redeeming qualities which, if they were put in this Bill, would make him content to let it go into committee. But he would never consent in the absence of those or more explicit clauses. Was it reasonable or fair to have this sweeping disfranchisement? The voters already registered were to come up again to the revising court; the notices were to be served again; witnesses were to be examined as to the notices, and as to the facts, and as to the value of the property. Everything was to be tried over again that had been tried within the last year. Was there ever greater injustice offered to the electors? They would have no advantage from their present register; not even a *prima facie* case could be made from it for them. They were to be treated just as if they had never been on the register. No man need give notice of objection. Every man was at liberty to come forth and object, without giving the slightest warning. Uncertainty and disfranchisement were to be thrown over the whole register. Oh, shame upon those that would commit that gross, that glaring, that palpable injustice! His next objection was to a matter apparently of detail, but really of the essence of this Bill. He meant the notice required to be served. Why was it so complicated? A notice containing so many things, and requiring so much precision, never was yet introduced into any bill of this description. He was unwilling to fatigue the House by going into all the particulars, but he would mention two or three things which appeared to him to be most monstrous. Notice was to be given at the distance of thirty or forty miles, the name was to be written at full length, and the particulars of the nature of the qualification, the parish, and place in which it was situated were to be specified, and its situation within that parish or place; there must be the local description of the pro-

perty and the name of the tenant or tenants, and the names of all the lives in the original, and in any renewed grant. Why, the best franchise in Ireland were those that had passed through a century of renewals for life; for in every one of those leases must be specified every renewal, or else the party, through the omission of one of them, could be defeated. Then, again, the right to the property must be specified, and that in every case, even in cases in which an assignee was concerned, and where it would require a competent lawyer to ascertain the right. Yet all that must be stated, and that the party believed what he stated. He mentioned these details as proof of the noble lord's anxiety not to touch the franchise in Ireland. The very first proof that must be given of the franchise before the assistant-barrister, must be the proof of every one of these particulars. Here was another singular contrast afforded between the case of England and that of Ireland. At present a residence in towns and boroughs in Ireland entitled the parties to vote as in England. But in England, if the voter changed his place of residence before the registration, his vote could be retained by him. In Ireland, in the case of a change of residence, the party must begin *de novo* to recover his vote. With respect to the matter of the certificate, he thought the bill of Mr. Woulfe would remove every difficulty. His next objection was to the appeal both ways. He knew that the hon. and learned member for the University of Dublin would quote his speech against him which he made in 1835, wherein he spoke in favour of the appeal both ways. But even then he expressed his mistrust of the judges; and now he was more impressed with a want of confidence in them; and that, with other considerations, led him to object to the appeal against votes already inserted on the register, because the franchise was sufficiently curtailed already. He had not exhausted all his objections to this Bill; but he deceived himself much if he had not stated sufficient to induce the House to reject a measure, which, if it had not been so intended, must practically operate to diminish the franchise of the Irish people, to

make less what was now little, to diminish what ought to be augmented, to disfranchise the people, and be another blow to the liberties of Ireland. He conjured the House, respectfully, at once to throw out the Bill, which would perpetuate injustice in Ireland. He feared it was vain to ask either side to do justice to Ireland. But, whether he might be blamed or laughed to ridicule, he would say it was impossible the present state of things should continue. The people of Ireland were too numerous not to attain peaceably and loyally, but firmly and constitutionally, an increase of rights. This attempt to spoil them would be met with a firm and manly indignation. They were now carried away by an unnatural excitement. They were exhibiting another instance of their high excellence among the nations of the earth. They had, of all others, been the most faithful to what they believed the true creed, amidst war, plunder, desolation, and blood; and now they were rising in the might of a giant morality. They were now universally avoiding every species of intoxicating excitement. Prudence was marking their steps and their conduct. Indiscreet marriages, formerly a blemish in their character, had altogether ceased. The moral lesson was becoming a practical one. Dispose of them as England might; insult them if she chose; in his humble opinion they were her equals in constitutional rights; he believed them to be her superiors in morality and political integrity.

*Subject, REGISTRATION OF VOTERS (IRELAND)—ADJOURNED
DEBATE; Date, MAY 20, 1840.*

The same subject was resumed on the 11th June, and a fiery scene ensued. O'Connell declared in angry tones "that this was a bill to trample on the rights of the people of Ireland." Uproar and laughter followed, and he reiterated his words, adding: "If you were ten times as beastly in your uproar and bellowing, I should still feel it to be my duty to interpose to prevent this injustice." Sir T. Canning rose to demand a retraction of the word "beastly." The unfortunate Chairman was appealed to, but the noise was so great he

could not be heard ; when he could, he apologised for O'Connell, saying it was no doubt an "inadvertent expression."

O'Connell replied : "I used the words bellowing ; did you ever hear any other bellowing than beastly ? What sounds were they ? Were they human sounds ?" Mr. Lambton rose to call attention to the way in which O'Connell had been treated before he used the words complained of. He said, "it was disgraceful to an assembly of English gentlemen to attempt to tyrannize over one individual member." Mr. C. Butler said that O'Connell was interrupted by whistling, and that those who introduced "the manners of an ale-house" must take the consequences. Lord Clements stood up boldly for O'Connell, and said he was insulted to his face in the grossest manner. Lord Maidstone said he would not be satisfied until O'Connell retracted, and O'Connell replied that he was perfectly content with the noble lord's dissatisfaction. Lord John Russell, much as he hated Popery, could not do without Papists, and threw the balm of an oily speech on the troubled waters.

Mr. O'Connell—Instead of feeling annoyed at the unnecessary allegation of a fact by the hon. and learned gentleman (Mr. Thesiger) which, if I thought it necessary, I could show to be different, I am ready to concede to him that he has made out a case, to a certain extent, in his attempt to prove, that this Bill is favourable to members, and to persons petitioning. It is equally advantageous to the £50 freeholder and to the clergy of the Established Church. It is a good Bill for the clergy ; it is a good Bill for the £50 freeholder ; it is a good Bill for those who have obtained seats, or those who struggle for them ; but it would be hard to show that it is a good Bill for the poorer classes. Sir, the noble lord under whose patronage this Bill was introduced, exhibited last night a good deal of his excellent resentment against me. He threw it completely away. From the state of the House at present, from the open hostility of the enemies of Ireland, and the lukewarm zeal of her friends, I have no fear that I am safe in adjourning any retaliation I may be disposed to make on the noble lord's vituperative attacks to another discussion. I think it obvious that we shall have opportunities enough of carrying on our disputes before the forty clauses of this Bill are disposed of in committee. I therefore adjourn the quarrel to some future occasion. Before I proceed I must take notice

of one quotation which the noble lord has made. The noble lord has made a statement, attributed to me, out of the *Mirror of Parliament*, which he read correctly, and in which it is alleged that I favoured £10 franchise in counties. The noble lord states his recollection of the matter being canvassed in 1832, and he says I have changed my opinion since that period. Now, I wish just to tell him that, in 1832, that passage was quoted against me by the noble lord's solicitor-general, and I said it was arrant nonsense. To be sure, that was not conclusive of my not having uttered it; but I ventured to show Mr. Crampton, who was not very remarkable for his candour, that it was wholly unintelligible, and was a mistake of the reporter which he might have naturally fallen into from not having the Act of Parliament before him. I also asked Mr. Crampton whether he was prepared to deny the accuracy of my recollection of what I had really stated. His answer was, "I have no recollection of the circumstance; but I make my statement from the records of the period." I asserted in a more solemn manner than, perhaps, was necessary, that the passage had been misstated; but here, again, it is brought up in judgment against me. I do not blame the noble lord for not recollecting these details, but I hope he will not quote this passage again without bearing in mind the contradiction I gave it in 1832. At all events, this explanation disembarrasses the discussion of that point. One remark more before I go into the merits of the case between the noble lord and me. He accuses me of having unjustly and untruly—I don't mean with any want of courtesy—alleged that no franchises were annihilated in England, and he maintains that there were several. The noble lord instanced burgage tenure. Not being a lawyer, it was not difficult for him to fall into this error; but if he looks to the 31st clause of the Reform Act, he will find it gives the franchise to such persons without reference to value or occupation. He also stated that the freemen's franchise was annihilated, whereas it remained, the non-residents only being disqualified. I am glad I have got rid of these preliminaries.

[*Lord Stanley*: "Where do you leave the potwallopers and scot and lot voters?"] I'll show on a future occasion the amount and nature of that loss. I prefer now, if the noble lord will consent, going on with an examination of the merits of this Bill. I denounce this Bill as one for annihilating the franchise, under the pretence of revising it. How is that to be effected? By unnecessary trouble—by multiplied vexation—by enormous expense—by hazard costs—by inducing a repetition of the landlord's power of intimidation and persecution—by throwing every obstacle in the way of the elector's registration—in short, by a dissolution of all the powers with which the oppressor can harass the victim of his wrath, and of all the authority which wealth can exercise over comparative poverty. Who will take up this Bill and deny that these are its characteristics? The hon. member for Halifax seems to disapprove of every material section in it. He is not even satisfied with its title, and yet he votes for going into Committee. He is like the man, who denied that his knife was a new one, though he had changed both the blade and handle. He disapproves of all the details, and yet votes for the entire bill. There are some English gentlemen here who are ignorant of the machinery by which the franchise is opposed in Ireland. They do not know the extreme lengths to which some persons go to prevent the people from registering. There are two documents I wish the House to attend to. They will show the object which the Irish electors have to contend with. The first of these is the circular of Mr. Nettles, who, it was said last night, bore an opposite name. This is the letter:—

"Nettleville, March 25, 1839.

"SIR—I have been directed to state to you that the person whose name is mentioned on the other side has served notice to re-register his vote at the ensuing Cork sessions, which will commence on the first of April. As our being able to return Conservative members for this county entirely depends on our preventing the re-registry of our own tenants, the committee trust that you will exert yourself to effect that desirable object, and that you will have the goodness to inform me as soon as possible whether his certificate has

been forwarded to our opponents, or any authority given to produce it at the sessions, as in such case it will be necessary for us to have a notice served on him requiring his presence at these sessions, where, if he does not appear, the re-registry cannot take place.—I remain, sir, your obedient servant,

“ROB. NETTLES, Hon. Dis. Sec.”

Do you understand now, gentlemen of England, the position to which the Irish claimant is reduced? I will give another Conservative specimen, and I venture to say that no English gentleman would treat voters thus.

This is the Report of the Quarter Sessions in Westmeath, January, 1840:—

“COUNTY WESTMEATH.—THE FRANCHISE.—At the quarter sessions for this county, which have just closed, there were notices served for upwards of five hundred persons as claimants to register, yet between Moate and Mullingar—the two divisions where the sessions were held—only about one hundred answered. Of those, the numbers registered were—at Moate, fifty-two Liberals, six Conservatives; at Mullingar, eleven Liberals, five Conservatives; and this result affords not an unfair criterion to estimate the relative force of each party in the county. Yet there is a permanent staff of paid witnesses, who attend at every sessions against the Liberal claimants as counsel and agent to oppose them at the Moate sessions. One of these witnesses, William Bell, a frieze-coated countryman, was called to disprove the qualification of Thomas Brennan, of Rosemount (Brennan being a tenant of Sir Richard Nagle), and Bell having, upon his direct examination, deposed to the acreable value of the holding far below the amount stated on the part of Brennan, and who Bell admitted to be a respectable and faithful man, the following facts appeared upon cross-examination by Mr. Plunkett, counsel:—

“COUNSEL: Pray, Bell, what other source of income or livelihood have you beside the farm you hold?”

“BELL: I have an annuity.”

“COUNSEL: An annuity! Is it a rent-charge—who pays it?”

“BELL: The Conservative gentlemen of the county.”

“COUNSEL: What amount?”

“BELL: Forty pounds a year.”

“COUNSEL: For what?”

“BELL: For this I am doing—valuing votes.”

“In the case of another claimant, Cormack, of Bracknafoile, Joseph

Murdock, who is also one, or, rather, the chief of the permanent staff, swore that he viewed and valued the claimant's farm; and a Mr. William March deposed that he had viewed and valued it, and that it was not worth £10 a year above the rent. Upon cross-examination, and upon confronting Murdock and the claimant, Murdock said:—I viewed what I think to be his farm, but I don't swear positively, because I do not know it.

"THE BARRISTER: You led me to think that you knew it; or what do you mean by valuing and viewing the farm of the claimant, if you did not know it? Let the claimant be admitted.

"Joseph Murdock, William Bell, George Dickson, and George Ronaldson (the last a Scotchman) are our franchise valuers."

Is this the system you are to encourage? Is this the system that incorporates all the honour, all the intelligence, all the religion of the country; but we will come to that presently. He who valued the man's farm upon oath is contradicted upon oath, and then he admits that he only believes—that he does not know of his own knowledge—that the value of the farm is that which he had stated upon oath. I read this to show that there shall not be the shadow of an excuse for the passing of this Bill. I protest against this disfranchisement in the name and on behalf of the people of Ireland. I protest with as much solemnity as if I was assured that my protest would be received. If you succeed in this disfranchisement, you repeal the Reform Act for Ireland—you repeal the Catholic Emancipation Act—not as relates to the wealthy part of the Roman Catholic population, but as relates to the middle classes. The Irish people bid me tell you that they impute this Bill to two distinct and separate reasons. The first is a national antipathy to the Irish people. Yes, they say so. They say, also, that it has originated in the virulence of malignant bigotry. Now, I am bound to show upon what grounds they attributed this Bill to these causes. If those grounds be satisfactory, you ought to reject this Bill; if they are not, my argument goes for nothing. Have they not a right to say there is a national antipathy? Are there not multitudes of those on the other side, and their supporters, who, in their speeches, their election tirades, their after-dinner harangues, have expressed themselves in the most vile way of

the Irish people? I have a bundle of them here, but I will not disgust myself or the House by reading them. Yes, I say they have expressed themselves thus of the people of Ireland in their election speeches and their after-dinner harangues, where—in *cino ceritas*. Then what say you to your Press—your favourite Press—your pampered press—wealthy because you patronize it—to the vile *Times*, and the rest of that gang (*laughter*). You laugh when I say the “vile *Times*,” but was it not that print that designated the priesthood of Ireland, “surpliced ruffians,” and her population “shoeless and shirtless vagabonds?” Think you the Irish people know that you receive not this foul slander with condemnation, and that the press which uttered it is under your protection? Oh! they have reason to say there is a national antipathy. But have they any reason to doubt that the Bill is founded on motives of religious bigotry? The hon. member for Londonderry county spoke the other day in high commendation of a meeting, held on the 2nd of May, at Belfast, and in speaking of the wealth and respectability of the gentlemen that attended it, selected one individual for his particular praise, and that was Dr. Stewart, a Presbyterian clergyman. Now, on the objection to this Bill—that its operation would be unequal as between Protestants and Catholics—that rev. gentleman admitted that such might be the case, but that it did not arise from the principle of the measure, but from other causes, one of which was, that a greater regard existed among Protestants for their oaths than among Catholics. Does the hon. gentleman, in the presence of the Catholic gentry who surround him—does he, I say, presume, in the presence of some of the first gentry—to tell me, with miserable bigotry, that the Roman Catholics have no regard for their oath? Have not Catholics lost advantages and power and honours? Why, there is not one Roman Catholic, except the young gentleman immediately before me, who has not been excluded from power and dignity for years. The rev. gentleman further said:—

“If a Catholic committed perjury in aid of the Church, it was held to be

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no perjury; and it was not to be doubted that, when a Catholic was driven by the priest to the registry, or to the hustings, he would act upon the same principle, particularly as he had the priest of the parish to give him absolution at his elbow."

The noble lord may ask, "How do you bring all this home to me?" I will tell him. Who was the principal orator at the late meeting? The hon. member for Belfast. And what do you find on the back of this Bill? That it is brought in by Lord Stanley, Lord Granville Somerset, and Mr. Emerson Tennant (the hon. member for Belfast). These names were selected by the noble lord. Am I wrong in attributing the Bill to a spirit of malicious bigotry? Then the noble lord, the member for Liverpool, made an eulogium upon the respectability of the signatures to the petition he presented. I have looked at those signatures, and among the foremost I find that of the rev. Hugh M'Neile, of Jezebel notoriety. Here is an extract from his speech:—

"Some of us have been giving warning to this country for the last ten or twelve years; we have been telling plainly, and pretty clearly, that the conscientious members of the Roman Catholic Church are not bindable by an oath administered by heretics. We have been making it plain that perjury is not to be considered a crime, committed by a few individuals belonging to the system, in spite of the system; but that it is a part, a deliberately organised part of the system itself."

And that is what is said of the Roman Catholic religion. This is what was said in the presence of some of the most accomplished gentry on the face of the earth. This is the petition brought up from such a meeting. This is the petition which the noble lord, the member for Liverpool, went out of his way to give us an abstract of. But that is not all. The rev. gentleman quotes a story, and from that story states that a multitude of perjuries were suggested by the priests at elections. He gave the story in detail; it was met at first with laughter, and ended with long continued shouts of applause. I am told that the Irish people are blunderers; that they do not understand what you are about. The hon. member for Caithness, amongst

the ludicrous capers he thought proper to cut, was, at least, candid; he called them assassins, and their priests supporters and prompters of perjury. I appeal to all liberal-minded English gentlemen whether they will give their countenance to these atrocious calumniators of the most numerous religious persuasion in the British empire; or, if it be disputed that they are most numerous, at least a very large proportion of the Queen's subjects. I do believe that there is even yet too much attachment to Ireland left in you, or, at least, too much liberality of feeling to allow you to sanction such calumnies. When Mr. M'Neile said there would be no peace as long as the woman Jezebel lived, I do not mean to impute to him that he meant the Queen (*question !*) I am speaking to the question—let the followers of Jezebel be silent. It was asserted in the Irish, and in some of the English newspapers that the expression was so meant; but I saw the disavowal. And what was that disavowal? He said he meant the Roman Catholic religion! Cheer that. That was the explanation given by the rev. gentleman, who is one of your leaders. I appeal to this House, in sight of the Catholic multitudes of the continent, and ask, shall it be said that doctrines of this kind are proclaimed by your leaders, your supporters—those whom you boast of as giving numbers to your petitions. Shall it be said that you countenance men of that stamp? If you do, I envy not your feelings; but this I say, that the people of Ireland are right in believing that malignant bigotry is at the bottom of this Bill. I ask the noble lord will he venture to bring in such a Bill as this for England? When he does, I will believe his sincerity. He never would attempt it. He is a bold man I know; but he is not bold enough to make such an attempt at the liberties of England. No; he reserves his kindness for the people of Ireland. Those who believed that in virulence and injustice there was a binding power, and a strength to unite, might vote for the Bill if they pleased. England and Ireland had now been united forty years. Did not the Union give the people of Ireland rights? Did it not give them a claim to equality of rights with the

people of England? For twenty-nine years of the Union the people of Ireland had been compelled to struggle for religious equality. For twenty-three years of the Union, the constitution was suspended. The people of Ireland assisted the people of England in obtaining the Reform Bill. How were they treated? Did they obtain the same franchise as the people of England? By no means. Their franchise was more limited; and now it was sought to contract it further. The rural population of Ireland amounted to 7,000,000—the registered electors of the whole kingdom amounted only to 60,607. This was of importance—a matter that could not be thrown over lightly. Before the Reform Bill, in January, 1829, the electors of Ireland numbered 216,871, being in the proportion of one to thirty-five of the whole population; whereas, at the present moment the proportion of electors to the whole population was only 1 to 117. Compare the proportion of electors in Ireland to the proportion of voters in any of the counties of England, and mark the difference. In the whole of Ireland there were only 60,600 electors, whilst in one riding of Yorkshire alone there were 33,000, being five per cent. more than one-half of the registered electors of Ireland. How, then, could the noble lord (Lord Stanley) talk of swamping the constituency of Ireland? He asked was this a Union? Were these the rights of a Union? Was not this a case calling upon the Legislature to give up every other labour until it had commenced and completed that which should be a labour of love—the placing of the people of Ireland on an equal footing with the people of England. What was the principle of this Bill? (asked the hon. and learned gentleman).

The Legislature might pay no regard to the inferiority of Ireland, it might pay no attention to that which made the iron enter into the souls of Irishmen, though it had not yet ground them down to be slaves; but was it thought that the number of electors in Ireland was too many? He had shown that the number for the whole country did not exceed double the number of a single riding of the county of York. What, then, be-

came of the noble lord's allegation that the real and sound constituency of Ireland had been swamped by fraudulent and perjured voters. It was said, that great fraud and much perjury were committed under the existing system ; and the noble lord (Lord Stanley) read letters that he received, describing undue registries. The noble lord stated this fact about Stephens—that he registered in October, 1832—that, consequently, his registration and his certificate would last till October next—that, notwithstanding that fact, in March last he came in before the assistant-barrister with his certificate, and got a renewal of it for eight years, although his title expired that very hour. He did not accuse the noble lord of suppressing a fact, but he blamed him for not being more cautious of his correspondents. He had looked into the case of Stephens, and found it to be this: Stephens was a tenant of the Marquis of Lansdowne, and a Protestant; he came forward at the sessions to register, and when the barristers told him that his former lease had expired, he showed a letter from Mr. Robert Franks, the agent of the Marquis of Lansdowne, giving him a fresh term at the original rent. Let it be remembered that there was a clause in the Reform Bill expressly providing for cases of this description, a clause in which it was distinctly stated that any renewal or new lease should be considered as a continuation of the same qualification. Who was the assistant-barrister who admitted the claim of Stephens to be placed on the register? Mr. Blacker. This then showed what credit was to be placed in letters which came upon a sudden, and were intended to serve a particular purpose. He wished the House not to be led away by statements of this description, statements that were not authenticated, and which, upon investigation, in nine cases out of ten, turned out to be without foundation. It was said that the object of the present bill was to prevent fraud and perjury, and that the object of those who opposed it was to preserve and perpetrate those evils. A committee of the House upon fictitious votes in Ireland sat nearly two years ago, but it gave no report. Why? Because a case of fictitious votes was

not made out. Occasional errors might be discovered in every system; but anything like a systematic creation of fictitious votes was never discovered in Ireland. How different was the case in Scotland. There was a committee to inquire into the fictitious votes in that country. That committee made a report, and their report showed fiction and fraud to an extent that was horrifying. Four hundred votes were manufactured upon one small property, without a shilling being paid in the way of rent or annuity. Eight hundred votes were manufactured upon another small property. In short, the system in Scotland appeared to be general and most extensive. Why did not the noble lord try his hand upon Scotland? To be sure it was easier to attack Ireland. Scotland had friends, and true friends; Ireland had enemies—hearty and haughty enemies. The hon. baronet, the member for Caithness (Sir G. Sinclair), talked of fictitious votes in Ireland—why did he not look at Scotland? There was high authority for this recommendation—"Hypocrite, first take the beam out of thine own eye, then mayest thou see clearly to take the mote out of thy brother's eye." Then the noble lord talked about the frauds committed upon certificates. He admitted that the facility was great, and that frauds had been committed. But was not the noble lord cautioned that it would be so? Had he proposed the certificates? No; he opposed them, and showed the facilities which they would open to fraud and perjury. The noble lord, however, overruled the whole of his objections to the certificates; and having succeeded in introducing them, the noble lord now availed himself of the evil which he had originated as an engine to operate against the franchise in Ireland. Was that fair? When the noble lord was asked to give the same system of registration to Ireland as had been established in England, his answer was brief but distinct: "I cannot consent to introduce the English system of registration into Ireland as long as doubts exist as to whether it will work well in England." The noble lord had now found out that the system worked badly in England, and thereupon he proposed to introduce it into Ireland. Oh! if it

had worked well in England, it would have been long enough before Ireland got it. But it had worked for evil, and therefore Ireland was to have it. When he (Mr. O'Connell) pressed upon the noble lord his objections to the certificates, the noble lord gave him an answer which was not distinguished by his ordinary modesty and diffidence.

"The subject," said the noble lord, "has undergone a great deal of discussion out of the House, and I feel perfectly satisfied it is the best plan that can be adopted." That was the whole of the noble lord's reply; curt, certainly he would not say contumelious, but brief enough. The noble lord was "perfectly satisfied." He had never known the noble lord to come forward with any proposition upon which he was not "perfectly satisfied." The noble lord overruled his objections by an overwhelming majority, and this "best possible plan" was adopted. But now the noble lord came forward, and sought to rid himself of the mischief of his own creation by an instrument to contract, if not to extinguish, the franchise in Ireland. Nobody had suffered more from the abuse of the certificates than he had. He admitted that a remedy was required, but not such a remedy as that proposed by the noble lord. The way in which he would deal with the evil would be to pass a short Bill to do away with the certificates. That would be one remedy; but there was another. Extend and define the franchise in Ireland as it was extended and defined in England. Give to the people of Ireland the same franchise as was given to the people of England, and let them have the same proportion of voters. With respect to the decision upon the question of "beneficial interest," at the present moment the judges, if divided by political feelings, would be six to six; for there was another Liberal judge who would vote with the five on the former decision. Yes, he would call it voting, for it was putting that to the vote for which the statute gave them no jurisdiction. Why did he go into this argument? Simply to show that it was a question capable of being decided by the judges either way, depending upon the political bias, and certainly upon the

individual opinion of individual judges. Therefore, it was idle for hon. members to talk of this being a settled question. If ever there was a *certa questio*, this was one. What he wanted was, that the House of Commons, which was the proper tribunal for judging of the franchise, should settle it. He wanted the noble lord to give the same franchise as the Reform Bill intended to give. Upon this subject he should move an instruction to the committee to give as full a franchise to the people of Ireland as was given to the people of England. In fine, this was a Bill proceeding from the worst motives. He spoke not of persons in that House, but of persons out of it. It would not be parliamentary to impute motives to hon. members. It was a Bill proceeding from a spirit most hostile to Ireland. It was a Bill widening the space that at present separated the Irish from the English people, and enlarging and aggravating the distinction now existing between them. It was a Bill that branded upon the Irish nation the name of slaves. It was a Bill, in short, to transfer power, and to extinguish the Liberal representation of the people of Ireland, and lay them bound hand and foot at the mercy of the Tories. The noble lord called himself a great reformer, and accordingly he brought in this Bill, and yet he took care to forget the only great source of fraud on the Irish registry—namely, the freemen. They were preferred in everything, and yet the greatest abuses existed in the nomination of freemen. Every species of deception was practised to get the names of men on the register as freemen. Men, notoriously born of English parents, and in England, had been passed off as the sons of freemen in Dublin, and registered as entitled to their freedom. There was lately in Dublin the case of a person who was represented as the relative of a person named Latt, of the city of Dublin, and registered as a freeman by birth, who was born of English parents, and in England, and whose real name was Coulson. The noble lord, however, proposed to retain his wholesale system of manufacturing votes. If it were not too late, he would show the House that this fabrication of votes extended to the amount of thousands in the city

of Dublin alone. No man could get his freedom in the city unless the Corporation chose it. Before the Reform Bill, they considered birth or service as the two modes of entitling persons to their freedom. A title by marriage was never heard of until after the Reform Bill. But then they said that marriage was a new right conferred by the Reform Bill, and accordingly the son-in-law—that was the husband of the daughter of a freeman—was entitled to be admitted to his freedom. Did the noble lord come forward and require that the freeman should be examined upon oath as to his title, in the manner that was required from the unfortunate householder? But he would do the noble lord this justice; he did not believe the noble lord had ever heard of this part of the subject before, or understood it now. At all events, the Bill of the noble lord provided no remedy for this evil. In the cases proposed to be met by the noble lord's Bill, the utmost fraud that could be committed was an over-estimate of the value of the premises claimed by the voter, and the only question would be whether one person had formed too low or too high an estimate of that value, the fraud consisting in giving a higher value than the property was really worth. Now, he would appeal to the hon. and learned member for Ripon (Sir Edward Sugden), from his professional experience in the courts of equity, whether he ever knew a subject upon which there was more contradictory swearing than upon the subject of value. And yet all this battling was going on upon this question of surveying in order to obtain the franchise. If the temptation to over-estimate the value was considered too great, why did not the noble lord increase the franchise? In order to take from the people the temptation to be dishonest, let the noble lord lessen the value of the vote. By this means he would be accomplishing two things; he would do away with the temptation to perjury, and would be increasing the elective power of the people, which was now too stringently curtailed. This Bill was favoured by accidental circumstances. The noble lord had somebody's luck besides his own. [*"Name."*] Oh, you know him very well. He could read to

the House from the history of Ireland's wrongs, page after page, proofs of the deepest treachery, of the blackest ingratitude, of the grossest violation of treaties that could distress a government or impoverish and crush a people. But he would once more call on the House—though he might call in vain—to do towards Ireland that which they would do to England. If they wanted assimilation of the laws, let it be so; but he exhorted them, at their peril, not to attempt to do that towards Ireland which they would not dare do towards England.

Subject, MAYNOOTH ; Date, MARCH 2, 1841.

Mr. O'Connell would commence what he had to say by stating, in the most distinct and emphatic manner, that he implicitly believed in all that was taught at Maynooth. He would not for a moment shrink from making this avowal in its completest extent; and he was only checked by his respect for the House from expressing most emphatically his contempt for those aspersions upon that college which had been so shamelessly uttered by several hon. gentlemen on the other side of the House. It was said that the charges brought that night against Maynooth had already been frequently made in that House; he had been longer in the House than the hon. gentleman who had made this statement, and he could tell the hon. gentleman that at least never had any charge against Maynooth been brought in so indecent a manner. Never had any charge against Maynooth assumed a character so reckless, so malevolent, so utterly calumnious. It was said, that such charges had been made elsewhere: they had, in places and by orators exactly in unison with the disgraceful and disgusting slanders poured forth. But it was said that allegiance to the Crown was frittered away at Maynooth. He would fix the hon. gentleman to this daring assertion, and he would prove to him, whenever he wished, that never was there a more groundless

assertion ; never did bigotry instigate a calumny or utter anything more grossly devoid of foundation. The hon. member speaking to gentlemen, his equals, at least, presumed to talk of Roman Catholics disregarding their oaths. He hardly knew in what terms to answer this assertion in the House. Were it said out of the House, the answer that would best fit the statement would be that the assertion was false as hell. The hon. member had quoted passages and phrases, but he had carefully abstained from quoting either book, chapter, or verse, for it would have been easy to have sent for the book, and at once to have confuted him. The only two passages for which the hon. member had given the precise authority, consisted of expressions which no Christian need be ashamed to utter or avow, and which were perfectly consistent with the charity which belonged or ought to belong to every Church. The hon. member quoted Dr. Slevin, but he had not cited the particular pages, and the reason was, that the hon. member knew very well that if he had done so, he would have been contradicted and confuted in a moment. The hon. baronet, the member for the University of Oxford, had expressed himself on the subject with his habitual good humour, candour, and straightforwardness, but he was not satisfied with the answer which the hon. member had given. The noble lord, the Secretary for Ireland, when he talked of Puseyite doctrines, had not imputed them to the University of Oxford, but to persons, clergymen, and among these, a bishop, who had been connected with the University. For his part, he confessed, he greatly rejoiced to see the advance of those doctrines. It must be admitted that those were acting contrary to their oaths, in teaching Popery, while they were paid by the Protestant Church. The hon. gentleman did not deny that, for he could not ; but, blessed be heaven ! the swearing to the Thirty-nine Articles and afterwards evading them was not Catholic. This was a fellowship he did not desire, though the movement was, he was glad to perceive, in the direction of the true Church, and would tend to the triumph of the true religion. There was not a single feeling of heartfelt religion to redeem

the malevolent tirade and abandoned calumny which characterised the speech of the hon. member for Kilmarnock. If the suspicion of thorough hypocrisy could be laid aside, the vituperation of the hon. and learned member would have been amusing. He could not help wishing that a few Catholic theologians had been present, as they would have been delighted with the dissertation on the Cisalpine quarrel, and his running commentary on it. This was a case in which the State wanted to invade the rights of the Church, and France supported that design. The French Parliament was opposed to the liberties of the Church. What was the consequence? The infidelity which led to the revolution and the trampling on all Church institutions. There was, however, no agreement in religious principles between the gentleman who made the motion and him who seconded it. No Ultramontanist and Cisalpinist could have differed more than the hon. member for Kilmarnock and the hon. member for Elgin. One was an intrusionist, the other a non-intrusionist. He saw the other day a speech in which the hon. and learned member for Kilmarnock spoke with indignation of the attempt of the State to interfere with the Church of Scotland; but his colleague in attacking the Catholics was a zealous intrusionist—in fact, there was not a single point on which the two hon. members were agreed, except in hatred to the old religion. The one relied upon the authority of John Knox, the other contended for the supremacy of the State over the Church, but they agreed to hunt the couple against Popery. He was sorry for the Church of Scotland. The present quarrel would not be soon over; and really, he must say, it was as pretty a quarrel as he could desire to see. But the Ultramontanist question was now at an end. All Catholics now in every State acknowledged the spiritual supremacy of the Pope to its just extent. You could not show a State in Europe, or in the world, where the Catholic religion was not extending itself, or one where Protestantism was on the increase. He (Mr. O'Connell) was sorry to dwell on these subjects, but a polemical discussion had been forced on them, and he should be ashamed

if he did not maintain a reason for the hope that was within him.

The hon. and learned gentleman talked of getting published the Bulls that had been addressed to the Catholic bishops. He might do so. The Catholics struggled for emancipation in Ireland. It was offered to them if they would give the State the power of appointing their bishops; but the Catholics would sooner lose their rights than permit an adulterous connection between their Church and a temporal party. But the hon. and learned gentleman talked of a difference between Irish priests educated in France and at Maynooth, and he quoted Inglis to prove his contrast. This reference proved the discrimination of the hon. member for Kilmarnock. Now, Inglis was in Ireland in 1831 and 1832, talking, as he said, familiarly with priests who had been educated in France. But the education of Catholic priests in France ended in 1792. No one could go from Ireland to France, unless he were first ordained, and he must be then twenty-four years of age. He could not return until he was thirty; but they must all have returned before 1792; and yet Inglis stated that he had been talking familiarly with those priests thirty-eight years after the time when they must have attained the age of thirty. Now, considering the laborious mission of the Irish priests, he (Mr. O'Connell) would put it to the House, how many of those rev. gentlemen could be alive when Inglis was in Ireland? He had been a great deal amongst the Irish priesthood, and he knew that when Inglis's book came out, there were only four of those gentlemen living, not one of whom that writer had seen, and of the four there was but one living now. But there seemed to be no discriminating faculty in the hon. and learned member, and he could not discern truth from falsehood and error from fact. The hon. member next told them that the late Lord Castlereagh was an exceedingly great theologian, a faculty which he (Mr. O'Connell) had never before heard attributed to that nobleman; but he was quite willing to make the hon. member for Kilmarnock a present of all the benefits of that authority. Then the hon. mem-

ber came to Emmett, and his evidence before a Committee of the House of Lords, after he had acknowledged himself to be a traitor. He (Mr. O'Connell) did not mean to speak slightly of Thomas Addis Emmett, whom he remembered as the accomplished gentleman, a man of talent, adorned with all the virtues of private life, who was rising fast in his profession, and full of the gifts of science. Emmett embarked in the fury of the French revolution; but he was no authority on Catholic opinions. Scarcely a Catholic gentleman took part in the rebellion. All those who were executed were Protestants or Presbyterians. So the quotation from Emmett was another instance of the faculty of delusion which seemed to distinguish the hon. gentleman. The hon. member for Kilmarnock next went into a long dissertation on the intimidation of Catholic priests, which, he ventured to say, he had proved to a demonstration that would admit of no denial: another instance of his faculty of delusion and assertion. But more astonishing still, the hon. member seemed determined to quote anything, except only what was true. Now, there had not been less than thirteen committees before whom causes of alleged intimidation at elections were tried. Six of these were tried by Tory committees, and the popular candidates were unseated; but not a single attempt was made to prove misconduct on the part of the priests. The charge had been made out of doors, it was true; the committee furnished an opportunity to prove it; and he implored the House to attend to him, while he stated that those opportunities of sifting the alleged misconduct, upon oath, were neglected and flinched from by those who had raised the calumny, and who continued to propagate it. To be sure, the Catholic priests took a part in the elections, and why should they not? They spoke from the altars against perjury and bribery; but he defied the hon. member to show that they went further. The hon. and learned member quoted Singleton; but was Singleton ever in a Catholic chapel, or before an altar? All his evidence was mere hearsay, picked up from those who stated that they were present at what they described. But he

turned with contempt from these calumnies on the Catholic priests. Did they imagine that Exeter Hall was the only place where all that was low, filthy, grovelling, and false against the Catholic religion was spoken? It was not. The meanness, virulence, and calumny, which had been so long considered as exclusively congenial in Exeter Hall, were now transplanted into that House. He repudiated those doctrines; every one of them had been already repudiated and confuted over and over again. His eternal salvation depended upon the sincerity of his belief; and, standing as he did, in the presence of that God who was to judge him, he there asserted that he never would abandon one particle of his creed. And he now told the hon. member for Kilmarnock that a more calumnious and more false assertion was never made against any Church than had that night been alleged against the Roman Catholic Church by that hon. member. Of what Church did the hon. member elect to call himself?—the idol whom he appeared to set up and glorify being John Knox. The hon. member for Newark, had he remained in his place, would hardly allow that the hon. member belonged to any Church at all; and he would say to the hon. member: “Have you ordination in your Church? and who was John Knox?” Had the hon. member read Mr. Tytler’s work? That Protestant-Presbyterian historian proved that John Knox was accessory, before the fact, to two murders. A notable idol for the hon. gentleman. And he talked about the Roman Catholic doctrine inculcating the violation of faith, even to Protestants! The hon. gentleman’s idol, John Knox, indeed, said that no faith was to be kept with Catholics. But to assert that Roman Catholic doctrines, in any place, or in any manner or degree, inculcated the abominable principle that faith was not to be kept with Protestants, was a preposterous and utterly unfounded calumny. It was the doctrine of the Roman Catholics that faith was to be kept with everybody; and that he violated the faith of God, whatever he called himself, who violated his faith with man. And what was John Knox’s first act when he came into power? He procured an Act of Par-

liament to put Roman Catholics to death as idolators. Yet hon. gentlemen opposite, who glorified John Knox, assailed the Roman Catholic priests, because, said those hon. gentlemen, they were intolerant. They were assailed, too, because it was said they inculcated the violating the allegiance to the Crown. But, who was so open a teacher of rebellion as John Knox? The disciples of such a man were to be regarded with feelings of pity, guarded by a large share of distrust.

He had been unwillingly forced into this polemical discussion. His religion had been attacked, and it was his pride and duty to defend it. It is the ancient religion of this land—it is the religion of Alfred and of Edward, of Fenelon and of Sir Thomas More. It is a religion, as had been eloquently said, which existed during the early persecution of Christians, and has survived the flames and wild beasts of the Roman amphitheatre, and it will exist when “some traveller from New Zealand shall take his stand in the midst of a vast solitude, and on the broken arches of London Bridge sketch the ruins of St. Paul’s.” He did not provoke this discussion, but he was sorry it had arisen. Could anything exceed the bigotry of the petitions which had been presented? Did they not breathe all the rancour of the Early Reformation, as it was called? And was not that rancour exhibited by the gentleman who gloated over the bigotry of those petitions? “It was time,” said the hon. member, “that the House should respond to the sentiments that had so long existed abroad.” He knew there were millions in this country who scorned such sentiments. The hon. member talked of a response in this House, and the hon. gentlemen on the other side cheered the most malignant and unfounded of his assertions. Blessed be God! the people of Ireland knew that bigotry so foaming and boiling over never polluted that House before. He wished he could prophesy it never would again. It should not with impunity. He would ask them to judge of the priesthood of Ireland by the people, and the people by their priesthood. Nothing could be more just than the tribute which the noble lord near him had that evening paid to the Irish nation.

Most true was it, that, of the people of these realms, the women of Ireland were amongst the most pure, her men among the most temperate, the most religious; none were more regular communicants with their Church, none more zealous for their religion, nor of more practical piety. The hon. gentleman said he had been in Ireland? His visit was not one of mercy and charity, but to discover what he could blame. In his own evidence there was no mark of candour, or he would read it for him. He had been there; and did he know any people on the face of the earth so many of whom are communicants every Sunday in the year? The altar-rails were thronged with them; and let hon. gentlemen remember how they regarded the solemn mystery there consummated; and where, on the face of the earth, was there a people with so much zeal for their religion, with so much practical piety as the poor people of Ireland? True, they had their errors—revenge was perpetrated amongst them, and, under its influence, many were scattered abroad and met with untimely deaths; vengeance had broken through the restraints of religion and the feelings of humanity; but he could, with pride, in comparing his country with either England or Scotland, affirm that in Ireland crime was infinitely less in aggregated amount, and infinitely less in individual atrocity, than in either of the other portions of Great Britain. Never was she dishonoured by these horrible pecuniary murders—those assassinations, committed merely out of a thirst for gold, which were of such dreadful frequency, that cast a foul blot both upon the people of England and Scotland. The Irish were a religious and moral people, and true religion and morals were still spreading through the land. He held in his hand a document from which he would read what the state of the population is. You talk of Protestant Ulster. There are 976,088 Protestants of every description in Ulster, but there are 1,092,828 Catholics, giving a majority of 116,740. In Leinster the majority was 1,334,014. In Munster it was 1,975,964; and in Connaught, 1,166,280, deducting only 57,750 Protestants. Was it then in that House that the cry

of bigotry was raised and propagated against that country? It was not wise—it was not prudent—above all, it was not Christian-like. Would to God an end were put to these polemical discussions; and they would be put an end to if the hon. member would mind his own religion more and that of others less. Let him study Presbyterianism—let him study the principles of the English Church; it was said he communicates with it. I hope it is a calumny, as he is a Presbyterian. He conjured the hon. member, therefore, to look at his own religion and not to the religion of others—of others, who were no more than himself tainted with any other doctrine inconsistent with the pure morality or the precepts of the Divine law, either expressed or implied, and whose ancestors had the courage to sacrifice the last drop of their blood rather than abandon, by deed or word or insinuation, one particle of their faith. He begged leave to support the hon. member in asking leave to bring in his Bill, but he believed the hon. member would never bring it in.

SAME SUBJECT; SAME DATE.

Mr. O'Connell said he hoped the House would allow him to trespass on its attention for a short time, as he had been strongly alluded to by the noble lord and the right hon. gentleman. He should be sorry that his hon friend, the member for Kilkenny, should persevere in his intention to divide the House. It was totally unnecessary; for if he would look at the clause he would see that it was an affirmative clause, and, therefore, that he might, after the present one, add the clause, giving even tenants-at-will the right to vote, provided they varied the sum by only one shilling; so that it was totally unnecessary for him then to divide the House. It was not very material whether he took that immaterial division; for an immaterial division it would be, because, as the right hon. baronet and the Government would vote against him, he had

no chance whatever of a majority. He (Mr. O'Connell) had heard what had fallen from the noble lord (Lord J. Russell) with great pleasure, yet not without regret. There was in his speech an exposition of some of those principles applicable to the Government of Ireland, which, if carried into effect, would be eminently useful; but he did not think the noble lord's vindication of the conduct of the Reform Ministry in 1832 was satisfactory. The noble lord went into the history of the 40s. franchise, and of its abolition; but he was not accurate in saying that the 40s. franchise was abolished on his (Mr. O'Connell's) evidence; nor was the right hon. baronet quite accurate in saying that the 40s. freeholders had been abolished in consequence of the evidence given by the advocates of the Roman Catholic claims, and more especially of that which he (Mr. O'Connell) had himself given. The right hon. baronet, in referring to the evidence in support of his assertion, had omitted to read the first answer which he (Mr. O'Connell) had given. In that answer, he only spoke of the abolition of the 40s. freeholders under leases, and not of those similar to the English freeholders. He stated that with those nobody wished to meddle; and, so far as the perpetual interest was concerned, he had not said one word to justify the abolition of that tenure. It was material for Ireland that this should be understood. It was now admitted by the right hon. baronet opposite there was no compact between the Government of 1829 and those gentlemen who advocated the Roman Catholic claims in regard to the abolition of the 40s. freeholders; so far from that being the case, they had now the fact that at a meeting of sixty-three noblemen and gentlemen, the supporters of Catholic claims, held at the Thatched House Tavern, a resolution was unanimously agreed to to petition Parliament against the Catholic Bill, if the passing of it was to be the sacrifice of the 40s. freeholders. Such a petition was presented by Mr. Spring. Rice. The right hon. baronet had called his abolition of the 40s. freeholders a measure of Reform. It was the only instance in

which he had shown himself to be a Reformer. He had consented to their abolition, not because they were Catholics but because he considered the system a social evil, and his mode of reforming was by totally destroying. This, however, could never be any reason for refusing an extension of the franchise to a similar class. The abuses in the old system of 40s. freeholders were partial, and did not extend to whole counties, nor did they continue up to the period of their abolition. Between 1825 and 1829 every one of the abuses described in the evidence had vanished. The right hon. baronet opposite, and those who acted with him, refused to correct the abuses, and to grant emancipation at the proper time. Had they done so, a century might have elapsed before the people of Ireland would have found it necessary to make any further struggle. But the auspicious moment was allowed to pass by. What then followed? The people of Ireland compelled the Government to grant them Emancipation, unconditional and unfettered by any terms whatever. The 40s. freeholders shared in the battle, but they were not allowed to share in the triumph; they were annihilated—they were destroyed. Then came the Reform Bill. He had opposed that Bill by reason of the limited nature of the qualification sought to be established by it. He argued that the franchise was too narrow, and that the number of electors would bear no reasonable proportion to the population. Time had shown that he was not mistaken in this; he had underrated the number a little, but it was not much beyond his calculation. They had been told that Ireland had got a Reform similar to England. But how stood matters in that respect? In Bristol any man who rated at 1s. was a burgess, while in Dublin no man could be one who was not rated at £10. Why make such a difference? Why persevere maintaining such a distinction, unless it was their wish to tyrannize over Ireland? They did, however, persevere in exercising their power in all the plenitude of an insolent domination, without any reason, and in defiance of that principle which said that both countries

should be identified as one. He would now point out to the House an instance of the difference between the proportion of electors to the population in the two countries. The county Galway, containing 685,604 inhabitants, had only 2,085 voters; Donegal, with a population of 298,491, had only 1,462 voters; and Mayo, with 366,000 inhabitants, had only 950 voters. In England, the county of Hertford, with a population of only 95,977, had no less than 5,349 voters; so that this county, with a population of 95,977, had more voters than the three counties of Ireland he had stated, the aggregate population of which was upwards of 1,000,000. Now, would any man, either on the one side of the House or the other, say if the case was reversed—if 95,000 inhabitants of Ireland were represented by 5,000 voters, and upwards of 1,000,000 of Englishmen had only 4,000—was there a man among them who would endure such a state of things? If there was, he despised that man; and should he not despise him? he ought to despise himself. He appealed to them for redress. If they refused to grant it, he would appeal from them to the people of Ireland.

He would only give another instance of this inequality. Wales, with a population of 305,000 had 36,833 electors, while the county of Cork, with 703,000 inhabitants, had only 3,835 electors. There was no equality in this. Now, no doubt, they had the power to continue this gross inequality in the representative system between England and Ireland. Was it prudent to continue it? Was it just to continue it? Was it safe? It might be safe just now, but who could say that it would be so that day three months? Let them not lay the flattering unction to their souls, that the people of Ireland were regardless of this question, or that they did not understand it. The question of how they were to govern Ireland was a serious one for the representatives of Scotland and England. They had continued the system of exclusion long enough, and they ought now to give way, and treat the two countries as one. He was not contented with the Bill of the Government, and he supported it merely because he would not get a better. He regretted ex-

ceedingly that Government had departed from their original proposal of a £5 qualification. He had often been obliged to accuse the enemies of Ireland of injustice, but now he felt more inclined to say, Heaven protect her from her friends! The people of that country were every day more alive to their rights, and better able to maintain them. They had set an example of religious fidelity to every other nation. In spite of persecution, they had had the firmness and integrity to abide by what they believed to be the true religion; those who thought otherwise ought to remember that an error of faith was no disparagement of virtue in practice. In no other country in Europe were the duties of religion more attended to, and there were more weekly communicants in Ireland than in any other country on the face of the earth. This religious feeling, instead of diminishing, was augmenting. He would put it to the House, whether they ought to tamper with the feelings of such a people, of whom upwards of five millions had pledged themselves never to taste the cup of intoxication. If they wished to further the Repeal of the Union, they could not do so more effectually than by refusing to conciliate the people of Ireland. If, however, they insisted on the continuance of that union, let them establish an equality between the two countries. Do not allow Ireland to have only 4,000 electors out of a population of upwards of a million, and England to have 5,000 electors in a population of only 95,000. By voting for the Government Bill, they would take the first step, small as it was, to remedy the evil by abolishing such differences between the constituencies of the two countries. There was another advantage attending the measure; it might be indiscreet in him to avow it. If rating was made the test of the franchise in Ireland, he had no doubt it would soon become the universal mode of ascertaining the qualification. Independently of this, however, he thought the Bill would do much for Ireland. It would get rid of all the charges of perjury which had been brought against the people of Ireland, by destroying all temptation to false swearing by either party. He should, for many reasons, vote for the

Government proposition. If for nothing else, he should do so in order that the real question between the two parties might be decided; namely, whether the Government system should be adopted or not. One word as to the extension of the right of voting to tenants-at-will. If made sufficiently extensive, so as to exclude the dictation of landlords, he would have no objection to the franchise being conferred on them. It was because the present motion was not extensive enough that he objected to it; it would leave the tenant at the mercy of his landlord, from whose tyranny he could never be protected, except by a widely-extended suffrage, or vote by ballot, neither of which the House of Commons, at the present moment, were inclined to give. He could vote conscientiously for the Government Bill, because he knew that they were making a struggle in the right cause. If they should fail, it would not be their fault; their doing so, through the influence of party, would only give an additional incitement to the people of Ireland to join in a universal struggle, in order to obtain justice for themselves.

Subject, LANDLORD AND TENANT (IRELAND);

Date, JUNE 7, 1841.

Mr. O'Connell gave notice of a motion for leave to bring in a Bill to amend the laws relating to landlord and tenant in Ireland. He would take that opportunity to allude to a matter personal to himself. The House was aware that, a few evenings ago, the hon. and learned member for Bandon (Serjeant Jackson) made a very serious charge against him (Mr. O'Connell) of oppressing his tenants in Kerry, by distraining in April for rent due in March. Not having been in Kerry of late, he (Mr. O'Connell) did not know whether some agent of his might not have distrained some of the tenants from malicious motives; therefore, he did not rise at the instant to contradict the statement. Since then, however, he had requested his son (Mr.

Maurice O'Connell), who had the honour of being acquainted with Mr. Serjeant Jackson, to call upon that gentleman to inquire the name of his informant, and his authority for the statement he had made; and, with the permission of the House, he would now read the letter he had received from his son, describing the result of his interview. It was as follows:—

“16, PALL MALL, *Monday, June 7, 1841.*

“MY DEAR FATHER—I have just seen Serjeant Jackson. I told him that I came from you, to ascertain the name of the person whom he quoted in the House, the other night, as having stated, that he had known tenants of yours to have been distrained in April for rents due on the 25th of March previous, and also, if possible, the names of the tenants.

“He said that he did not know the names of the tenants; that a gentleman called on him some time since, in Dublin, and said he was a Kerryman, and his name Twiss; that Serjeant Jackson recollected having seen him on juries in Kerry, but does not know his Christian name or address; that this man then made allusion to a speech of yours about Irish landlords, and said that you yourself were a bad landlord; that he had been in Iveragh some time previous, had seen a number of cattle in pound in the month of April, and, on inquiry, that he was told that they belonged to tenants of yours, and had been distrained for the March rent. I asked what year this was in? Serjeant Jackson did not know, but said he had a memorandum of it somewhere, and promised to let me have a copy thereof. According to him, Twiss said he would swear to the facts.—Your affectionate son,

“MAURICE O'CONNELL.”

He was able to state that, up to the month of January last, when he was last in Kerry, no such thing had occurred; and, therefore, up to that period, as well, indeed, as up to that to which the hon. and learned gentleman had referred, he was enabled to contradict the statement in the strongest possible terms. It was not for him to comment on the manner in which the charge had been made against him. The man's name from whom the information was received was not known—his address was not known—the only allegation was, that somebody had told the hon. and learned serjeant that so and so had taken place. He (Mr. O'Connell) begged to take that opportunity of denying, in the most distinct terms, that anything of the kind had occurred.

*Subject, ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO SPEECH—ADJOURNED
DEBATE; Date, AUGUST 27, 1841.*

Mr. O'Connell said—The noble lord has distinctly admitted, beyond controversy, the deep distress of the manufacturing classes. The noble lord spoke of that distress with becoming feeling, and said that a most difficult problem to solve was how that distress could be relieved. I will furnish the noble lord with a simple and efficacious remedy; give the distressed classes a loaf of bread. The noble lord has not leisure to discuss the awful consequences of that distress, but whether the pleasantry which the noble lord has indulged in be good in taste or not it is not for me to say. This is a subject of the utmost importance, and I claim this deference for my opinions on the Corn Laws, that I stand here as the representative of two of the largest agricultural communities in the country. I am the representative of more than one million of the people of the Irish nation. Yes, I have been returned for two counties, without canvass or solicitation, without my personal presence, or my asking for a single vote, and with my opinions on the Corn Laws being well known. My opinions I am not in the habit of concealing; and no opinion of mine is better known in those counties than that I am for the total abolition of those laws. There is another testimony in my hon. friend the member for Waterford, with respect to the feelings of the Irish constituencies, for he fully informed his constituents that he would vote against those laws. This is a proof that the Irish people do not estimate the advantages which the agricultural interest derives from the Corn Laws. Indeed, Ireland illustrates the fallacy of some of the topics used by the supporters of these laws. It is said that they increase the rate of wages. If they have that operation anywhere, surely it is in Ireland. Ireland has the full benefit of the Corn Laws, and yet there is the lowest rate of wages in any part of the kingdom. Ireland is an agricultural country; you have taken care she shall not be a manufacturing country; but people see distinctly that Corn Laws do not raise the rate

of wages, and they feel, and I feel, that it is a robbery upon the operative to make him pay more for his bread than his earnings enable him to pay. Yes, they feel that these Corn Laws are an aristocratic impost upon the food of the poor man. If the Corn Laws did not increase the price of bread to the operative they would not contend for them; no, they contended for them in order to increase their rents. What is the problem so difficult to be solved as to the mode of relieving the existing distress? I ask, is there any proposition more clear than this, that having cheaper bread, and a greater quantity of it, would be an immediate mode of relief? But you want to reduce that quantity. You want to increase your rents, and not to give cheaper food, and then you come with your doleful lamentations about the state of distress. The people understand and feel it to be a mockery. They ask for bread and you give them a stone, and then you come and boast of your triumph and your overwhelming majority against ministers who propose an alteration.

For my own part, I only agree to the ministerial plan of 8s. protection as an instalment of the debt of justice due to the people, with the full determination of getting rid of it ultimately. The question between you and the people is, whether there shall be a tax upon their bread, whether there shall be an impost upon their food, and whether you shall increase your revenues by increasing the price of that without which existence is insufferable? (*No, no.*) I say, Yes, yes. And you insist upon continuing this plan of starvation in spite of the evidence read by my hon. friend, the member for Wolverhampton, showing an accumulation of disease and death, following the dearness of provisions and the scarcity of food. You may talk as you please; you may boast of your triumphs as you like, but you must come round to this. The question between you and the people of England is, whether they shall pay millions more by the year for food than they can get it for from other countries. It has a double aspect of iniquity; for, while it increases the price of the poor man's food, it impedes the progress of our manufacturing interest. If

you allow foreign corn to be imported, we shall at once find immediate payment for our manufactures and an increased demand. At present you diminish labour by increasing the price of food, and then you come with lamentations about the state of distress, and about the difficulty of solving the problem of how that distress is to be relieved. I recollect a story of a Frenchman, who complained that he never fattened his horse. He had tried a thousand remedies; he had fed him with spices and tobacco, and different other articles; when, one day, a friend asked him, "Did you ever try oats?" He declared he had not. Now, I say to you, by way of experiment, in order to solve the problem as to the best mode of relieving the present distress, try bread. Give the poor man food, and then, if he does not thrive and prosper, go to any quack doctor that chooses to set up, and, for my part, I should not interfere. Everybody knows that the great mistake in the Reform Bill was that of augmenting the representation of the counties and not giving to the better instructed town population a more adequate share in the representation. I do not ask for a preference. I ask for equality. You, however, gave the preference to the £50 tenant-at-will clause, and I ask how much of your triumph is owing to the fatal policy of having thus augmented the members for the counties of England. Your majority consists almost entirely of them. I complain that the Whig ministers did not go far enough. They halted too soon. They did not answer the just expectations of the people by working out their own measures so as to give the people of Ireland a fair representation. I complained because of the unequal preference given over the manufacturing and commercial classes. The supporters of dear bread, however, succeeded, and they have again succeeded in obtaining a majority. What, then, are the merits of the two great parties who contend for the government of the country? I will contrast them. What fault, I ask, is to be found with the Government for the last ten years? They have done much to increase the franchise. They have almost totally abolished the hideous, uncivilized punishment of death. They have done

more—and I speak of my own profession—they have wiped out the stain of injustice in the criminal law which permitted the counsel for the Crown to address the jury, shutting out the prisoner's counsel. That is a measure of great importance, although shorn of part of its utility in the House of Lords, where they introduced a clause, giving two speeches to the counsel for the prosecution, and only one to the prisoner's counsel. Although, therefore, there was such an unjust diminution of the benefit conferred by that measure, I think the ministers deserve credit for going so far in ameliorating the law, and merit the gratitude of the country. They have done more. They have increased the circulation of information of every kind, by diminishing the stamp duties on newspapers and periodicals from 4*d.* to 1*d.* It should not be forgotten that they did these things. There was another great advantage arising from this measure, namely, it got rid of the temptation to a violation of the law by the sale of unstamped publications. Ministers cannot be deprived of the glory of having accomplished these things, even though their career be about to terminate. There is another measure of great public utility, namely, the penny postage. The reduction of the newspaper stamp duty allowed the circulation of the information. The reduction of the postage duty allowed the circulation of the effect of that information. It keeps up the tie between parent and child, between brother and brother, and for the first time places within the reach of the poorest person the easiest mode of communication. Before that measure the poor man paid one-third of his weekly earnings for a single letter, and was in this painful contrast with the man of fortune—that the man of fortune could hold communication for the ten-thousandth part of his income. Again, the present ministers opened the trade with India and China. They had also advanced the principles of religious liberty. They have relieved the Catholic and Dissenter from the necessity of bowing before a clergyman whose tenets they did not believe, and whose mission they deny. They have allowed them to celebrate their baptisms,

and marriages, and to preserve their burial services free from intrusion. The present ministry have made a great step towards the abolition of tithes in Ireland. They have succeeded in striking off one-fourth of the entire burden. They would have gone farther; they would have appropriated the surplus, had the Parliament permitted, to purposes of public utility. I do not reproach them for having given up that clause, for I was one of those who, despairing of carrying it, urged their giving it up. I do not shrink from my share of the blame, but I say that in abolishing one-fourth of the odious impost they have set an example, and established a principle, which may enable, at no remote period, a future Parliament to abolish it altogether. But that is not their only claim. Were they not the persons who introduced reform into this House? Did they not abolish 115 rotten boroughs in England and thirteen in Ireland? Have they not done more for England, and have they not abolished the restricted, narrow, and self-elected corporations? Have they not almost identified the electors with their representatives in the new corporation. They have done so, and it affords a painful contrast to the conduct pursued towards Ireland. They have done more, and let the fact be proclaimed to the world, they have emancipated 800,000 slaves.

Early in Mr. Pitt's political life, he joined with Mr. Wilberforce in pressing for the abolition of the slave-trade. He succeeded in every other measure he undertook, but in this he was in a minority, and these minorities continued until the Whigs came into office in 1805. They were only eight months in office, but they signalled themselves by the abolition of the slave-trade. They gave a lesson to the nations of the earth; and the generosity with which the British nation made such sacrifices was compensated by the perfect safety which attended their humane experiment. The party which did this deserved popular support. That party had called upon Englishmen to estimate all these valuable and important ameliorations in the law, both as regarded religious liberty and human freedom. I will not dwell upon their conduct in Ireland. They have given ten years of

almost complete repose to the people of that country. They have, for the first time, taught the people of Ireland that the Government may select persons, not for their creeds, but for their virtues; not for their religious opinions, but for their merits; that exclusion shall no longer be the fate of one party, and that offices of power, honour, and emolument shall no longer be confined to a faction. I thank them, in the name of Ireland, for what they have done, and for what they intended to do. I thank them for the good they have performed, and for the greater good they were prevented from effecting. I ask why a party of this kind should be thrown out of power? I will not stop to argue upon the question, whether they fall short of their own undertakings. I will not stop to discuss how many of the more ardent friends of Reform have been disappointed and irritated. I will not stop to ask why they did not carry out their own principles, by extending the representation to the operative classes, to whom it must soon be extended. But I say this, that you, at least, ought to be the last to complain of their labours not having been more extensive in that direction. What are the claims of the Tory party on a liberty-loving people? What has the Tory faction ever done for public liberty? When were they the advocates of freedom of conscience? Never. They have been exclusionists from first to last, and only yielded to the impulse of the pressure from without, adhering to the principle of exclusion still. I have spoken of a few instances of the benefits conferred by the Whig party in ten years. I will give the Tories a century, and I ask them to tell me what they have done for public freedom to put in comparison? They opposed the emancipation of the negro as long as they could. They opposed Parliamentary Reform. They supported the abuses of the old corporations. And yet, this is the party, it appears, which the people of England prefer. This was the party that all along opposed religious liberty; that kept the people of England in chains until their limbs grew too large, and they burst their fetters. When they could no longer keep from the people of England their liberty, they revenged themselves by diminishing

the franchise of the people of Ireland. That franchise was so restricted, that the curse of the noble lord's Bill was scarcely necessary to effect its early annihilation. You gave to England corporate reform, under which every man rated to the poor-rate, however low, became a burgess. You gave Ireland a corporate reform, obtained only after four years' struggle; but it was at last conceded by the hon. gentlemen opposite. How did your leaders treat the Irish people? In the city of Dublin there has been an enumeration to the poor-rate, and the number of ratepayers on the books is 15,000. Every one of these, if he resided in Liverpool or Bristol, would become a burgess; but, happening to be on the other side of the Channel, 5,000 of them are excluded. Heaven help us!—misery makes us acquainted with strange company. The hon. member for Evesham has condescended to patronise Ireland. But, first, all agitation must be put down. Has the hon. gentleman wit enough to know that agitation is impotent, unless founded on a just cause? And I ask anyone possessed of the old spirit of Englishmen—a spirit which I believe has considerably evaporated—would you endure that Ireland should have got a corporate reform, giving to every ratepayer the right to be a burgess, whilst England was restricted to one-third? How would the old spirit of Englishmen prompt him to answer that question? If he answered that he would bear it patiently, I will not say that I would treat him with contempt, but I should think he deserved to be so treated. If, on the other hand, he said he would not endure such injustice, I would hail him, and say to him, neither will we, the people of Ireland, endure it. I want to know what the Tory party have done to recommend them to the good will of the people of England? It was said formerly that no people in the world were more desirous of public freedom, or more attached to the privileges and the rights of freemen, and they carried them out, in the madness of their zeal for liberty, by dragging one monarch to the scaffold, and driving another a wanderer and a beggar through the nations of Europe. What party was it that supported these

monarchs in their attempts upon the liberties of the people? It was the party that was now coming into power. Their very name dated its creation from the period of the Revolution, and from that period until this, what proof have they given of their love of liberty? They opposed the House of Hanover, as long as they continued attached to principles of liberty; they opposed them to the very verge of rebellion, and they became loyal only when they got the Crown into their custody, in the reign of George III. Have the party shown no disposition to return to their ancient disloyalty during the present reign? They have not as yet the Crown in their custody. Accordingly, the loyalty of the party out of that House is expressed in base calumny, and the vilest, and, need I say, most unfounded slanders.

One would have imagined that the youth and sex of her Majesty might have awakened some feeling of sympathy and regard. Yet it was you who framed these calumnies against your young and beautiful Queen—you deny that, at your orgies, you insulted her by your marked preferences. What said the reports in the newspapers—your own newspapers? “The health of the Queen was drunk with the usual honours;” and the health of another person—need I name her? “with nine times nine, and loud and long continued cheering,” accompanied by that music invented by the saint of Canterbury, and entitled “the Kentish fire.” And what is there in you to countervail all this? What public good have you ever done? What cause of public liberty have you ever advocated? I have read your history, and I am astonished that the people of England should be so fallen as to consent to give you their confidence. And how was that seeming confidence obtained? Never was such gross bribery known since the world began. Take the great leading organ of your party, the *Times*, which states the fact distinctly, and no other paper has contradicted it. The *Times* is the authority on the point of bribery; and somebody belonging to it has tried his chance at elections two or three times, and has succeeded once, and was sorry for it. You

may boast your majority, but take it with this reflection, that it was all owing to gross and unlimited bribery. The *Times* is a liar of the first magnitude, and yet he admits as much. Another cause of your temporary success is your antipathy to Ireland, and the use you made of it. Look at the late speech of your champion, the Earl of Winchelsea: shame on you for listening to it. This, your hatred of Ireland, was one of the leading topics in all your addresses, from Chester to Canterbury. And yet, with all these foul and hateful means, you could not have succeeded but for the sordid and selfish interests of the owners of land and those dependent upon them. Yes, the farmers were brought to believe that their interests were knit up with those of the landlords, and that the alteration of the Corn Laws would depreciate both, and it was in a sordid, selfish feeling that they combined to obtain a majority against those who proposed the scheme. And with this majority, there you stand the enemies of civil and religious liberty, and hating from your heart that country which, from its heart, returns your hate, despising as she hates. There you stand the haters of your right hand in war; with respect to whom you delight to make odious distinctions of political and moral rights—denying her the same franchise, the same representation, and the same corporation reform as you yourselves enjoy. You refuse her also that equality in religion, which, if your parchment Union were a real Union, would be hers by right. And now you are going again to govern Ireland. Who is to go over there? Is the Orange flag again to wave over the Lord Lieutenant's head? On your last advent to power you sent us a gallant officer—brave as his own sword—and a noble earl, who took the first opportunity to exhibit himself in public, when the Kentish fire was set up to greet him, and the Orange flag waved over his head. True, the man who did this was punished. But how? Three years afterwards the hon. baronet called him in this House a vagabond. He had three years of perfect impunity and enjoyment of office, and at the end of that time he was signally punished by being called a vagabond—and the vaga-

bond holds his office to this day. And now for the future—what is your plan, what is your prospect? Is it possible to suppose that Ireland can be governed by mere good works? The county of Cork has a population of 750,000 souls, and a constituency of only 3,000. Of this Ireland complains. I have often gone over statements of this kind (*hear*), and on each occasion I have met with the same cries of derision which I now hear. But do you think that, as an Irishman, those cries can have any other effect than to inflame my spirit to defy, and move my energies to oppose and resist the enemies of my country who utter them. Do you think that, because you have got a majority you will put down the spirit of Ireland? Do you think that, with this bribed brute-force majority, you can reconcile her to a rule of injustice at your hands, or drive from her memory and her affections a Government under which she has made such advances in moral feeling and tranquil happiness? But this tranquillity, which she has enjoyed under the present ministry, is, indeed, in your estimation, her only fault. It is a picture which you cannot bear to contemplate. True, there have been, as there are in all countries, and in all times, some instances of sanguinary outrage in Ireland. But before you make a sweeping condemnation for the faults of a few, look nearer home, I pray you. Look at the fact that, in Liverpool alone, at the last assizes, there were as many offences of a serious nature for trial as in the whole of Ireland. Ireland has calumniators, and always will have; and, shame to say it, too many of them men born upon her soil; children thus hating and reviling their country; and can we wonder at it, when the enemies of Ireland have always received all the rewards of place and favour which power and authority could confer? Will you continue to follow this system now? You may pretend to administer the affairs of Ireland impartially, without this unfair regard to persons, but if you do, you will find that you will not have a single member of your party voting for you. And if you do not attempt to act impartially, I will not say that you will lose Ireland. God forbid that you should; but you will

deserve to lose her, and you will assuredly lose place and power. But can you act impartially—have you the men and means to do so? Look at the ranks of your party, and who do we see? Look at the noble lord opposite, who, as he has made himself most profoundly hated in Ireland, is, I suppose, by the principle that action and reaction are equal, most beloved in England. How will it be with the noble lord who calumniated the honour and integrity of the people of Ireland, in order that he might deprive them of their franchise?

When I reflect what endeavours I have made to purify the stream of justice in Ireland, that I have voted, night after night, in support of a ministry who did not go half as far in the good cause as I did, solely with a view to accomplishing, through their hands, the purifying of the stream of public justice—I look with dread and sorrow to what we may now expect from you. Do you mean to restore the sheriff of Fermanagh? No doubt you will find means to initiate him; no doubt you will try means to tranquillize Ireland; and then you will think you have made all safe. But you will find yourselves wrong; there is but one safety-valve for a great and suffering people, and that is, to afford them the means of giving expression to their distress and their grievances. Your majority will carry you into power; but how long will you remain there? Look at the starving and unemployed millions of your fellow-countrymen; your factories desolate, and your cities rendered hideous by squalid misery and thick contagious mortality. Look at your declining commerce, the result of your unjust and pernicious system of legislation. Do you suppose that the people of this empire will be long before they form a fair estimate between the friends of freedom and its foes? You are coming into power; how long will it be, I wonder, before you will have cause to regret it? Power is in itself always unpopular, and you will not be long in office before your acts are criticised with severity, and the warmth of your temporary friendships begin to decline. Your alliance with the Chartists will soon be at an end. Anything but the Whigs for the hon. member for

Winchester; and this was precisely the cry of the Chartists, who said, "Let us bring in the Tories, and we shall soon multiply the number of Chartists." The Tories consider themselves a distinct and superior class, and look upon all the rest of the community as slaves. Seventy-five per cent. of the population of this country is entirely unrepresented; the people begin to feel this, and see the effect of it in the Corn Law, of which they now so bitterly complain. They begin to see the misery which results from want of freedom and insufficient food. They feel that the Reform Bill has been a failure, and that that measure which would best secure them from intimidation and corruption—namely, the ballot—is denied them. There are abundant distresses, abundant causes of complaint in the country; and how do you propose to meet them? Will you impose new taxes? I do not wish for evil in order that good may come of it; but if I could do so I should wish that you should try some of these new taxes. Never did a party come into office surrounded with greater difficulties and dangers, and with less of that *mens divinier* of civil and religious liberty to recommend them; and I can only conclude by observing, that, "as men's infirmity is God's opportunity," the party now coming into office may be compelled, in spite of themselves, to do justice to Ireland.

Subject, PARTY CRIMES (IRELAND); Date, MARCH 7, 1841.

On the 4th of March, O'Connell had called attention to the subject of religious intolerance in the army and navy. Only those who had carefully studied his Parliamentary career can estimate the vigilance, the promptness, and the tact with which he dealt with every subject of Catholic interest, with which he defended and protected every individual right, civil, social, and political.

Lord Elliot replied, and O'Connell, for answer, briefly said, "that the Orangemen were armed with deadly weapons, while the Catholics were not. He did not know whether they would remain so."

He could certainly hint significant threats when he considered it necessary. On the 11th of March, when a Bill was brought forward to increase the in-

come of a Protestant colonial bishop, he said the Protestant Bishop of Nova Scotia had an income of £2,000 per annum; the Catholic bishop had only £75 per annum, and claimed that the spiritual wants of one denomination had as good a right to attention as the spiritual wants of another.

Mr. O'Connell would take that opportunity of noticing a misrepresentation of his speech on the conduct of General Espartero towards the Spanish clergy, imputing to him the sentiment, that if the cruelties of which he had complained had been visited upon Carlist priests he should care nothing about the matter. He had reprobated the conduct of the present Spanish Government equally as applied to the Carlist and Christina clergy as a religious persecution; but he had said that he should not have complained had any Carlist priests been punished according to law for their political offences. He would then proceed, in pursuance of the notice he had given, to move for a return of the names, numbers, and descriptions of persons who had registered arms in the county of Down, Ireland. He was induced to make this motion in consequence of a most deplorable event that had occurred in that county, and which must equally be lamented by both sides of the House. He meant the murder of a young man of the name of M'Ardle—one of the most cruel atrocities ever committed. The circumstances of the case were these:—An exceedingly fine youth, six feet three inches in stature, and proportionally well made, of most excellent conduct and temper, having been, on Christmas evening, with a friend called M'Kevron at a public-house at Ballyrany, kept by a man named Copes, a quarrel arose between M'Kevron and an Orangeman, who was also one of the company. M'Ardle interfered, put an end to the quarrel, and took his friend out of the house. A person named Thomas Scott, one of the accused, left Copes' house about the same time as M'Kevron, and proceeded to another public-house, three quarters of a mile off, where were assembled a number of young men who were armed, and had been practising with ball cartridge in the neighbourhood.

These fellows, who had assumed the ridiculous name of

"Yellow Tulips," were drinking in a barn, their arms being piled up in a corner, and when a messenger arrived, they took their arms, proceeded to the house where M'Kevron had been, and demanded that he should be turned out. On being informed he was gone, they proceeded to search the house, firing into it, breaking all the doors and windows, and making an indiscriminate attack on such within as were known to be Roman Catholics. M'Ardle, however, escaped to a house distant about a mile, and owned by a man named Ward. Thither they pursued him, and attacked the house where he had taken shelter. He again effected his escape; but before he got a mile further, he was overtaken, lying near a lime-kiln, and shot dead. The trial for the murder took place at the last Down assizes, and the result was an immediate acquittal of the parties accused. He did not impute blame where blame did not lie; but that blame rested somewhere was perfectly evident. When the verdict was delivered, there was a shout in court, "To hell with the Pope"—the usual Orange cry. Although the Attorney-General prosecuted and the judge charged for conviction strongly, the jury, without hesitation, acquitted the accused; another jury having convicted the very same men of a riot on the very same occasion. There had been another murder since at Ballyrony, and he had received several letters requesting to know what the people were to do—whether they were to be obliged to protect themselves. He should not dwell one moment on these melancholy facts; but what he complained of was, that the magistrates did not at once prevent such a party from spending Christmas-day in firing ball-cartridges. It was altogether a most indecent occupation. He also complained of the shout in court immediately after the acquittal of the accused; but, without at all entering into these questions, he contented himself now with moving for the return above mentioned.

Subject, THE NATIONAL PETITION—THE CHARTER;

Date, MAY 3, 1842.

Mr. O'Connell—As I do not wish my vote to be misunderstood, I hope I shall be allowed to state in a word or two why I support the present motion. And first let me say, that I do not vote for it because the petition asserts that the Repeal of the Union is one of the parts of the objects of those who have signed it. That is a subject on which my opinion is fixed; but this insertion in this petition forms no inducement with me to maintain its prayer. In short, I do not wish to identify my views with all the doctrines promulgated by this document. The ground on which my vote shall be given is, that I am—though I may be mistaken—a decided advocate of universal suffrage; and I rest that opinion on the total failure of every man I ever heard discuss this question, and in that particularly of the right hon. member for Edinburgh (Mr. Macaulay), to say where the line should be drawn which determines that servitude should end and liberty commence. I do not think that the noble lord (Lord J. Russell) was more successful in resisting the claims of the working men, by instituting a comparison between the demand of every man of twenty-one years of age to be a juryman as well as to vote for a member of Parliament. There was no analogy between the two cases, because the juryman is called on to decide on the property or personal liberty of others, a voter to defend his own. For my part, I repeat, until some rational line can be proved for stamping certain classes of Englishmen as of a degraded nature, I shall never consent to their degradation by law. The condition of this kingdom is one that inspires awe. I do not wish to draw any declaration from the Secretary for Ireland on the state of things there; but, if I am not greatly misinformed, she is in a perilous state. There certainly is no security for the continuance of the present orderly and peaceful habits of the working classes of this country; and if you did

nothing more by consenting to this motion than to gratify the wishes of a large mass of your countrymen, you would not go too far by admitting them to your Bar, and hearing their grievances under any restrictions you may think fit to adopt.

Subject, THE BALLOT; Date, JUNE 21, 1842.

Mr. O'Connell—And that was a recommendation of a system generating mean, paltry, dirty, and cowardly conduct. Why, no one could tolerate such a system for one moment. No man can be a party to such a recommendation. Does such a system require discussion or argument—is not conviction immediate? And yet the right hon. gentleman was conjointly of one of the few who recommended it. Oh, but there was to be full discussion; there was to be deliberation before the ballot was embodied in the scheme. (*Mr. Shiel: "Adopted."*) Was "adopted" the word—could it be possible? Yes, it was. The words were: "It is suggested that the vote by ballot be adopted." And this was his mean, dirty, paltry, cowardly system. Oh, yes! it was easy to use those words; but he wanted to know this—was it the poor wretch who was forced to give his vote unwillingly; was it the poor individual who was forced to give his vote to support his family that was all this? It might be so; but who made him so? It might be so; but who continued him so? (*cheers*). Aye; he was proud of that ironical cheer. He knew they were not the people to stand between the trembling victim and he who would sacrifice him to his love of wealth. They were not the people to adopt the ballot—an honest system (*oh! oh!*). Yes, he repeated it—an honest system. Aye, they thought no system honest unless in a commercial point of view—to give their money, and get the full value for it. And had they no compunction at the bribery which prevailed under the system? Had they no horror at the perjury which followed it? He had read to them the other night,

when the Newcastle case was discussed, how a father took his son to the polling-booth and saw him perjure himself, and when asked why he permitted it, replied, "So many others were perjuring themselves also." That was their system. That was the system that did not engender aught, mean, dirty, paltry, or cowardly. Was it in England that the hideous, horrible, and extensive bribery took place which had been exposed before the Sudbury election committee? They talked of conscience, and refused justice to others who differed from them in faith; but, fortunately, they were all agreed as to morals; and yet there were those who would not consent to a measure which would take away from the wretch, who was willing to be bribed, that which gave value to the bribery. There was a plan for doing away with perjury by abolishing bribery; but the very remedy denoted a foregone conclusion, and showed how extensive was the perjury which was thus to be provided against; but still the corrupt voter would remain the self-degraded wretch, and the same hateful miscreant same as under the present system. The highest value, however, which he set upon the ballot was that if the voter was not to be bribed, the question arose how was he to be influenced? He could, then, only be influenced by the public worth and services of the candidate, and the consequence would be that in endeavouring to win the suffrage in his behalf, the candidate, instead of endeavouring to corrupt the public by bribery, would recommend himself by his virtues, and become noble, generous, and humane. The discussion taking the shape which it had done, spoke in favour of the original principles of the Reform Bill, as it showed that the majority in that House had the modesty, at least, to shun the test of the ballot-box, well knowing what would be the result. The degrading effect of the ballot, he meant of the present system, was well known; and, indeed, admitted by all, for none stood up to deny the extent of the bribery which had been alleged; and in the Bill of the noble lord, the member for Dublin, that bribery would be stamped in perpetual record.

Subject, DISTRESS OF THE COUNTRY; Date, JULY 8, 1842.

Mr. O'Connell said that if he thought, in rising so early to address the House, he could influence their determination, he should be guilty of presumption and vanity. He knew well that he could not hope they would do anything when they had resolved upon doing nothing, but meant to repose in the hope that something better might occur hereafter. If he could hope to excite them to exertion, he might point to the present state of things as sufficient to arouse them; he could tell them that there was much peril in their present position. He might warn them that the state itself was in danger; that evil was around them, and a still greater evil impending. There could be no doubt that distress pervaded England. He never knew such an unanimity to prevail upon any subject as upon the allegation of general distress in England. Ireland, too, was suffering; but that, alas! was now nothing new. She was, however, suffering extremely at present. There were two sources from which sprung the misery of Ireland—one was in its nature temporary, but was constantly recurring; and the other was more permanent in its nature, and the relief not possible at present. To give relief, however, to Ireland, they must first have prosperity in England. The first species of distress in Ireland was the consequence of the three bad harvests. They had an exceedingly short harvest last year. He had reason, however, to believe, to have the confident hope, that the poor man's harvest this year was likely to be very abundant. That was information which he received from every quarter. Of course he was sure that there was nothing that he could announce to the House that would give more general satisfaction. He feared, however, that a very contrary intimation must be given of the wheat and oats, which were of the greatest importance to Ireland. He wished it might not be so; but he was afraid there was great accuracy in the statements he had received, conveying the intelligence. The other distress which was most permanent

in Ireland, was the distress of those engaged in all kinds of trade, and especially the retail dealers. The business of the shopkeepers was diminishing daily, their debts were increasing, their profits disappearing, and their embarrassments continually extending. He did not see the possibility of this state of things being relieved, unless he could find it in the common interests which Ireland had in the prosperity of this country. He had, then, a nation's interest in relieving the distress that now prevailed in England. To show the distress that prevailed in Ireland, he should read an extract from an Irish newspaper. It was to the following effect :—

“ It would appear from the Galway, Roscommon, and Tuam papers received yesterday, that the sufferings of the destitute have been but slightly, if at all, alleviated by the exertions of the local communities, and for the simple reason, that the wealthy have neither aided them by their personal influence, nor contributed in proportion to their means, the whole weight of the burden has, as usual, fallen on the middle classes—the small resident gentry, the shopkeepers, and farmers, have subscribed largely and generously towards the relief funds; but the absentee landlords have done nothing, or next to nothing for the miserable wretches who are literally dying of hunger in the immediate vicinity of their castle gates. ‘The distress of the people,’ says the *Galway Vindicator*, of Saturday, ‘is far from being abated. Throughout several districts of Mayo, and in this county, the people are pining under an amount of suffering unprecedented in the annals of even Irish misery. The calamity is aggravated by the heartless brutality of grinding and oppressing landlords, who have no bowels of compassion for the poor.’ That the people are in the condition described above is unfortunately too true. Famine is stalking over the land, and the calamity, as the Galway paper observes, is aggravated by the heartless brutality of the possessors. On Saturday last, a poor man came before Mr. Brew, the stipendiary magistrate at Tuam, and voluntarily made oath that neither he, his wife, nor his two young children, had partaken of any description of food since the preceding Monday; in other words, that, for five days and nights, a whole family had been subjected to the most horrible torture which human nature can endure?”

There was nothing worse than that in this country, but still there was not the least doubt of the fearful extent of the distress here. Not a town was spoken of without a description of

the distress which existed in it. The statistics of misery had been over and over again gone through. This had not been a question of relief, not of hopes of prosperity, not of anything like ordinary or temporary distress; but it was a question of what places were most deeply afflicted; what trade laboured under the greatest depression; what class of operatives were worst off; in which town was the greatest number of families pining under the influence of want and despair? And this was the way in which this country was spoken of—this great country, which had so long held its proud state, the first among the nations, the first in arts, in science, and in arms; the first in commercial industry, acuteness, and in that mental power and vigour which had given its skill free scope and field; which had made it the “envy of surrounding nations, and the admiration of the world.” What was its condition now? A condition of distress; of despair; of people, of families famishing. He felt he could not depict in language strong enough for the occasion the extent of surrounding misery. But were they safe in remaining thus? Was the social state safe in remaining thus? He had listened the other evening with the most profound attention to the speech of the right hon. baronet, the Secretary for the Home Department. He had listened with equal attention to the speech of the right hon. baronet at the head of the Ministry, and to that delivered by the noble lord, the Secretary for the Colonies. He had listened to them all with the utmost anxiety, to hear whether they held out any hope to the people; whether they held out any consideration to come between them and despair. The speech of the noble lord was characteristic. It was a reply, and, of course, an able one, but it had no more to do with the distress of the country, or the mode of relieving these distresses than it had with the late cabinet of Shah Soojah, or a convocation of mandarins at Canton.

The noble lord referred to a whole catalogue of causes, to which different people attributed the distress, and sorry was he to see a smile upon the faces of some hon. members at the recital; but the noble lord had given them no cata-

logue of means of relief; he had suggested no hopes—had held out no expectations of relief. The noble lord had talked of the causes of distress; but the question was, the means of relieving that distress. On that head the noble lord said nothing. The right hon. baronet, the Secretary for the Home Department, likewise had suggested no measure of relief. He had told them of the impropriety of using language in that House which would have the effect of exciting the people. But if hunger did not excite them, what signified language? Then came the right hon. baronet at the head of the Government. And what did he say? The right hon. baronet objected to the terms of the amendment with all his great ingenuity; but out of these objections, supposing the right hon. baronet to have been triumphant, could he not have framed a resolution of his own, which the House might adopt. There could be no difficulty in getting ready the words, provided they got the things. But the right hon. baronet had concluded by stating that the quantity of cotton which had been entered for home manufacture this year was as great, if not greater, than last year; that some mills were about to be opened, and some foundries put in blast. But had any man ever held out a hope of the general distress being alleviated by these means. The right hon. baronet's speech was a mere piece of mystification, not applicable to the question, and presenting no consolatory topics. His answer to the mystification was, that the people were starving. The right hon. baronet boasted of his tariff as being superior in conception and extent to the proposed commercial plans of the late Government; he had entered into the details of the subject, but had they healed the evils in the land? His answer to the tariff argument again was, that the people were starving. He did not mean to speak of the right hon. baronet's speech or those of his colleagues with disrespect, but they contained no matter for hope—no suggestions thrown out with a view of producing even partial relief. And if the Government could not even give them hope, ought not they, for the sake of the people, consent to an inquiry. The fact of the distress

was undoubted. It was undoubted, too, that it was not a distress which had suddenly sprung up. It was certain that it had been approaching gradually, that, like the stealthy progress of the in-coming tide, it had been pursuing its gradual course, and year after year, going on increasing more and more until it had now arrived at its acme, a deplorable and unendurable height. This they had on all hands admitted. And was it not most melancholy to think—was it not most deadening to hope, to look back upon the gradual approach of that misery, proceeding by degrees, and overwhelming everything which came in its way? Day after day more operatives were being discharged, and want was increasing. Nobody denied all this, and yet there were they sitting, talking coolly upon the subject, while the country was starving. He did not know if it was a superstitious feeling, but he could not divest himself of the idea that there was something fatal—fearful—approaching. Why did he think so? It was from this. Did they forget that they were class legislators?—did they forget that there was a landed class in this House—that there was also a class having great commercial wealth? and did they forget that the people knew it as well as they did? Did they forget that this House had been thronged with those who had obtained their seats by means of the grossest bribery? Did they forget that it had been admitted that bribery had everywhere existed; and did they forget that the people believed that they owed their seats to the worst and foulest means? They all knew that the Anti-Corn-Law League was at present holding sittings in London, and he supposed there was no man so insensible as not to read the speeches which had been made there (*a laugh*). Ay, they laughed—they had not thought of doing so. That laugh with which his words had been greeted strengthened his impression of impending calamity; for could he entertain other feelings when he saw the misery of the people treated with ridicule and laughter? But he would read the following extract from one of the speeches delivered at the Anti-Corn Law League. It was this:—

“Had not the working classes and the middle-classes reason to speak with unqualified contempt of the House of Commons? Had it not been returned by gross bribery? Had they not all of them declared such to be the case in the House of Commons? Had not the aristocracy of England, and also the money-bag aristocracy, brought about their consummation? Had they not caused thousands of honest and independent minds, by threats and intimidation, to commit mental treason against their country; and would they not abominate that system that scared men into vassalage, and cursed them with slavery—that maddened them into lunatics, and drove them to acts of incendiarism, and if they did not die upon the scaffold, they were sent to foreign lands, or else they were made paupers and buried as such.”

Was it not something new that language like this should be uttered—not by a constant agitator—not by one who made such pursuits his business, and was often therefore stigmatised as a demagogue—but that it should be uttered by industrious persons of the middle and wealthier orders, who, under the pressure of grievances, were driven to use language which, in their more calm moments, they would have avoided? Was not such a state of things pregnant with danger? The right hon. baronet at the head of the Government had told them that in many towns and districts there were individuals who openly tried to excite the people to acts of violence. The right hon. baronet had told them this, giving them, at the same time, the melancholy consolation that they possessed sufficient military power to put down any sudden outbreak of violence. It was indeed true that they should be glad to hear that the social state had some means of protection. But was it not melancholy that there did exist in society materials of such an inflammatory nature that the destruction of property might soon commence as a sort of revenge for misery and distress; and that even in these suffering districts the people were not left to the mere incitement which hunger or their own bad passions might lead as to acts of violence, but that there were persons among them instigating them and urging them forward. Those great proprietors—those who have lived a life of luxury and ease—did they not hear in the groans of the people a voice of prophecy, a threatening voice, warning them that their state was not secure;

announcing to them the perils by which they were surrounded? Would they wait until manufactories were blazing and farmsteads on fire? With such a prospect would they stand still—would they do nothing for the people? Much of the fear, of the forebodings which he felt was founded upon the simplicity which, in political subjects, existed among men naturally humane and generous. He was not accusing them of insensibility in their individual characters, but the more kindly and generous they usually were, the more astonished he was that this insensibility should sometimes prevail. Their not rousing themselves to put some bounds to the country's misery stamped insensibility upon them.

They (the Opposition) were often asked, what means of relieving the distress they would resort to. He would, at all events, make an experiment. The state of the country was such as to warrant them in trying any experiment from which they could hope to reap beneficial results. But there appeared to be a simple plan. The simplest housewife could adopt it. The people were hungry—let them eat. But they said there was no food. Let them tell him no such thing. There were at this moment upwards of 1,500,000 quarters of wheat lying in bond, waiting until higher prices became high enough for the landlords to allow the people to be fed. Let them take care, for a time might be at hand in which no rents would be forthcoming. If this was an ordinary time of distress he would not urge them to make the experiment; but they were in a woeful state; the whole social state was in danger. Make the experiment, then. It must injure the landholders, but it would hold out some prospect of relief. The people knew that food was within their reach. They knew that it was locked up from them, in order that one class amongst them might prosper. The monopolists, indeed, said they continued the system for the benefit of all; but the people said they persevered in it for the benefit of themselves. The monopolists said that their object was the prosperity of all classes. The people's answer was, "You are prospering, but we are starving." And their complaint had

the likeness of truth ; nay, it was true. That was the condition of the country. And he addressed the House with a solemn conviction that something terrible was in store if they did not rouse and exert themselves. Yet they stood rigid, immovable, refusing to give relief. Let no man tell him that he had not proposed something definite—something practical. He had proposed a plan which, even if it failed, would enable them to say to the people, “Your distress is not our fault ; as far as we can we have relieved your starvation.” But they still persevered in even refusing to attempt this. If their minds were not made up upon the effects which the adoption of his plan would produce, let them inquire. Let them inquire into the bearing of the adoption upon the markets. That they could easily find out. He, therefore, in the name of the people, called on the Government to make the experiment. He did so with the conscientious conviction that at this moment the State was in danger, and he could not see how those who allowed the distress to be as deep, as extensive, as it was on all hands admitted to be, could believe that the people could long continue patiently to endure the misery in which they were plunged. Let them remember that this was not the first time in which the country had been placed on the verge of revolution. He remembered the fearful state in which the country was left when the last Tory administration went out of office. The southern counties were in a state of insurrection. Well he remembered that, night after night, houses were attacked ; that lives were lost ; and that a special commission was obliged to be issued ; that the law was disobeyed ; that the judge and the hangman were left to be the sole vindicators of social order. He could remember all that. They had escaped the main danger then ; but would they continue to escape it ? Was the distress which existed then at all comparable to that which existed now ? No ; the state of things at the period in question was plenty and happiness to what it was now. Did they want to wait until another insurrection should take place ? There was no country which would suffer more from acts of revolu-

tionary violence than Britain. The state of society here was so complicated, the different classes so much bound up in each other, that the shock of revolution would produce miseries greater than were or could be contemplated. Surely, this was an additional motive for acting; the very distress which such an event would entail upon those who brought it about was surely a motive which should not be without its effect upon the Legislature in urging them to take some steps of relief. Were they to wait until the incendiary began his work—until the manufactories were blazing, and woollen and cotton mills spreading abroad their flames upon the night? They themselves could not be safe unless they made an effort for the relief of the people. If they stood silent—if class legislators, introduced to the House by such means as he had alluded to, refused to give the people relief, he had at all events done his part. He had laid the distress before them; he had suggested means of relief. If that plan should be found wrong, let those who objected to it make some other suggestion; if they could not make a better, let them take up his. At all events, let them not close upon the people the door of despair. The ministry had given the people no hope—they had shown insensibility to suffering; but let them retrace their steps, and let not Parliament separate until some effort had been made to relieve the suffering millions of this country.

Subject, NEWFOUNDLAND; Date, JULY 30, 1842.

Mr. O'Connell rose to move that the Committee be postponed for three months, to enable a communication to be had from the parties interested. He contended that no case could be made out for the present Bill. What were the facts? In 1832 there was every reason to expect that the grant of a constitution to Newfoundland would be attended with beneficial effects; and, after inquiries had been instituted, a charter was

granted on the 27th July of that year, giving them a constitution, which consisted of two Houses of Parliament; one consisting of representatives elected by the people, and the other of a legislative council appointed by the Crown, a governor having the power of assenting to or withholding his consent from the measures the two bodies agreed to. That constitution had been suspended, in consequence of some irregularities which it was pretended justified such a proceeding. But what was the state of the colony now? Upon this point he would refer to a despatch from Sir John Harvey, the governor, dated October 6, 1841, which said:—

“1. The inhabitants of Newfoundland appear to be unfeignedly loyal and firmly attached to British connection. No material degree of political excitement appears at present anywhere to exist, but, on the contrary, an apparent approximation towards a general disposition to bury past occurrences in oblivion. The trade of the colony is flourishing; its revenues ample and increasing; the fisheries of the present year, both of seals and cod-fish, have been highly successful. 2. The apparent suspension of their representative constitution, so recently conferred upon them, upon the ground of their gross abuse of the elective franchise, has evidently created much apprehension in the public mind, and has, I am willing to believe, produced such a moral effect as would exert a salutary influence in repressing any undue violence in future elections, in the event of her Majesty's Government deciding on authorising me to convene another assembly. . . . To some of the causes to which these discordant proceedings may be imputed I may hereafter advert; at present I will merely observe, that all parties are, I hope and believe, convinced that moderation in their measures and proceedings will best accord with their true interests; and all and every individual of every creed, party and denomination who has approached me, and with whom I have held communication, has expressed an anxious desire that its constitution should be restored to the island, with certain modifications.”

The people were loyal and attached to this country, and, how were they about to reward them? By trampling on them and taking away their constitution. Let them not trust too much to their power to crush the people of Newfoundland. Let them remember that the French had a strong interest in the island. What were the reasons for seeking to oppress the inhabitants of Newfoundland? He regretted that he should have

to state what those reasons were, but the truth must be told. They were persecuting the people of that island, because the majority of them were Roman Catholics. Mark the words used by the noble lord opposite in his despatch, in answer to that from Sir John Harvey, from which he had just quoted. The noble lord the Secretary for the Colonies said—

“So far as my attention has yet been called to the difficulties connected with the administration of the affairs of Newfoundland, they appear to me to arise mainly from three causes:—1st. The interference of the Roman Catholic priesthood with election matters, which has led to feelings of religious animosity, previously unknown in the colony, and to scenes of a scandalous character, shocking to religious and well-disposed Roman Catholics.”

The grievance that he particularly complained of was, that this Bill was not founded on an investigation in which both parties had been heard. All he required was, that the Bill should be postponed till such an investigation was completed. In connection with this part of the subject, he would read an extract of a letter written to himself by the Bishop of Newfoundland, and dated the 25th of June, 1842:—

“MY DEAR LORD MAYOR—Your lordship retains in recollection the committee of last year; you remember that upon the occasion of that mock inquiry the people of Newfoundland were taken by surprise, and had no opportunity of being heard either by evidence or by counsel before that body, and that the several witnesses examined—almost all, indeed I believe all, with the exception of Captain Geary—were persons who professedly had not been in that island for several years, Sir Thomas Cochrane since 1834; Mr. Brooking since 1835; Dr. Shea since 1836; and none of them present during the general election, which took place in the latter part of that year, and the occurrences and the returns at which were made the principal subjects of complaint; but the people of Newfoundland were studiously kept in the dark upon the subject of the intended inquiry, although the Legislature was sitting at the time, until accident developed it on the very last day of Session.

“Notwithstanding the House of Assembly had only a few hours of existence before them, however, they appointed four gentlemen of their body to repair to London and assist at the investigation in the expectation that they would have been examined, and that the country would have the benefit of their evidence; but upon their arrival in London the Committee was up, the Parliament shortly after prorogued, dissolved, and the ministry changed.

"Under these circumstances the delegates of the Assembly, appointed by their unanimous vote, were received by Lord John Russell, and invited by his lordship to put themselves in communication with the Government in writing; and in compliance with this invitation three or four important communications were made by them; and then, finding that there was no likelihood that the affairs of Newfoundland would, during that year, be brought under the consideration of Parliament, they departed from London, and returned to Newfoundland, but not before they had procured from Lord John Russell, through Mr. R. Vernon Smith, a reply, that no measure should be mooted with respect to Newfoundland without a fair and sufficient notification being previously made to the people of that colony, to enable them to adopt the necessary means of defending their constitution; a distinct pledge bearing date 30th of August, 1841, and signed by R. Vernon Smith, that if the House of Commons shall determine on reviving the committee on the affairs of Newfoundland, the Secretary of State will give you (the delegates) due intimation of it; and a similar pledge was subsequently verbally given by Lord Stanley to Mr. Brown, after the departure of the delegates; and by Lord Stanley, Mr. Brown was distinctly authorised to communicate that pledge to his colleagues."

He had a right to say that faith had been kept with the parties who opposed the Bill. There was an absence of all evidence on which to proceed to the destruction of the constitution; on the contrary, the greatest blessings resulted to the people from their having obtained a constitution. A small and insignificant party was interested in the destruction of the constitution, because it would advance their own monopolising interests; but the popular party—the party benefited by the constitution—the party interested in the internal improvement of the colony, desired the preservation of the constitution, and that was the position of the inhabitants whose interest it was now sought to crush.

But let them see what were the alterations which the noble lord proposed to make in the constitution. The first was to destroy the two Houses of the Legislature, and amalgamate them into one. Why thus mock them with the appearance without the reality of a constitution? Let the old system be revived. Let despotism be established. Let the people be punished formally for making improvements in the colony, for

building houses, for cultivating the land. Let there be a despotism which would be responsible, but let them not receive a mockery of a constitution. Let not their legislature be converted into a divan. The second alteration proposed was an increase in the qualifications of the members of the Assembly. Sir J. Harvey recommended the increase in the qualification, and he was not adverse to it. The colonists themselves were willing to increase the qualification; but this Bill proposed to take the matter out of their hands. He protested against thus taking the legislation upon this subject from the inhabitants of the colony. He objected also to the change proposed to be made in the qualification of voters, which was to be raised to a £5 franchise for the town districts, and a 40s. freeholder with an occupation of two years. He contended that such an alteration would disfranchise a very large proportion of the inhabitants, and whom Sir J. Harvey considered as the most valuable part of the community. Sir J. Harvey said in a despatch, dated January 10, 1842:—

“I am of opinion that to require any rent qualification whatever, or any property—one, beyond, perhaps, the lowest value of a log hut (say 40s.), and that, in fact, can scarcely be regarded as the property of the squatter, from being erected on ground to which he can have acquired no other title than such as an unauthorised occupancy may be considered conferring upon him—would operate a very extensive disfranchisement in the country districts, without at all improving, or, indeed, materially changing the description of voters; and, with regard to the towns, the qualification being already restricted by an Act of the Local Legislature to one person in each house, namely, him by whom the rent is paid, no further provision would appear to be required upon this subject.”

Sir J. Harvey solicited the opinions of five “highly respectable individuals in the colony,” and they all agreed that the effect of raising the franchise would be the disfranchisement of many voters. One of these gentlemen said:—

“After giving the subject all the consideration in my power, I beg respectfully to say, first, with regard to voters, that it may be laid down as a general proposition, that a household franchise is most suitable to the pecu-

liar circumstances of the inhabitants of this colony. Under this circumstance, it is my opinion, that a rent or property qualification, to supersede the present unlimited system of household suffrage, would, in effect, disfranchise a large portion of the inhabitants. I hope it may not be considered presumptuous in me to state, in conclusion, my humble opinion that, if the present constitution, so generously and liberally granted by his late Majesty, has not been found to answer the expectation formed at the commencement, the fault does not lie in the constitution."

The second gentleman said :—

"I consider, in the present state of Newfoundland, a property qualification impracticable and unjust; it would have the effect to disfranchise the greatest and best part of the population. In a moral and political point of view, I consider household suffrage the best that has yet been discovered. A householder is, for the most part, a husband and a father, having a fixed locality; the peace of his community and the prosperity of his country must be dear to him."

The third expressed his opinion as follows:—

"I do not think that a rent or property qualification would be productive of much, if any, practical advantage. Household suffrage, guarded by an efficient system of registry, together with simultaneous voting under a new division of the electoral districts, such as I recommended in my communication to the right hon. her Majesty's principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord John Russell, in July last, would, in my humble opinion, go far to render any other qualification unnecessary. In nearly all the other settlements, the inhabitants occupy premises which have descended to them from their ancestors, or land which they have themselves redeemed from the wilderness, for which they pay no rent to the Crown, and on which they have built for the convenience of their families and the purposes of the fishery. I would further remark, that such property is, in a great degree, valuable only so long as it be thus occupied, and that the annual rent of an ordinary house in St. John's would be almost equivalent to the full value of these freeholds, and, in many instances, much more."

The fourth gentleman admitted that the augmentation of the franchise would deprive of the right of voting a class of persons whom he was pleased to describe as "strangers and raw youngsters recently imported from England or Ireland." The fifth

gentleman who was applied to for information, expressed himself in a similar strain. He said :—

“ The advantages which would result from such a regulation or law would be to disfranchise many adventurers arriving from the mother country or the colonies, having no property or stake in this colony, and who have hitherto been allowed to vote from the occupation of a hut of nominal value in the woods, or a room, as under-tenant, in town.”

It had been said, with respect to the subject of the finances, that the Crown ought to have the power of originating money-grants, as was done in this country. Why, according to the Charter, no money could be expended without the Governor's warrant. Some grants, certainly, could be made by the Assembly, but was that a ground for destroying the constitution ? Everything that was wanted would be done. There was no necessity for thus trampling on the liberties of the people. The Catholic bishop of the colony, in the letter from which he had already quoted, stated that the Assembly had never refused any supply ; that they had been always ready to adopt any proposition made by the Governor, notwithstanding the Council had thwarted them in every possible way. He would read the passage to the House :—

“ I might go much further ; but that I feel I have already fatigued you I might mention the extraordinary circumstance, that this much maligned House never refused whatever supplies were demanded by the Executive, however extravagant ; and that, notwithstanding this, the Council were eternally thwarting them, by refusing the necessary votes for the necessary contingent expenses of the House. I might mention, that every measure that was ever recommended by the Secretary of State, or by the Governor, was ever sure, without one solitary exception, to be adopted by the Assembly, and reduced to a Bill, and passed ; and I might have shown you, that Bill after Bill of these, notwithstanding such recommendation, was thrown out by the Council, many of them even without amendment, many without reaching to a committal, and some even without a second reading. But I think I have gone far enough, to inform you generally upon the main questions connected with this Bill ; and even this would, probably, have been unnecessary, were it not that the official party here, who are leagued with the merchants, have just now entered upon a most furious crusade against the press, evidently to silence them while this measure is before the House.”

He denied that the noble lord had found the constitution suspended. The Session of the Assembly had ended in May, 1841, and it was impossible that a new election could have been held before November, because the whole adult population was absent, during the interval, at the fisheries. The deputation which had been over here on the subject had been assured, by Mr. V. Smith, that nothing should be done without due investigation. Now, he asked where that investigation had taken place? Every principle of honesty, of justice, and of fairness, was in favour of his proposition, and yet he knew that the majority of that House would support the Government in this attack upon the liberties of Newfoundland. If the Bill had been brought forward earlier in the Session, an expression on the subject might have been elicited from the people of England, who would have had generosity enough to ask for a fair trial. Why did not the noble lord call another Assembly, as had been recommended by Sir John Harvey, and see if that Assembly would not make every necessary alteration in the existing constitution? They had stated their willingness to raise the qualification of members, and to give the Government the initiation in the introduction of grants. Under the noble lord's plan, considerable delay must take place in calling together the Legislative Assembly. Under his plan, no such delay would take place. It had been objected that, among the members of the Assembly, there was one who could not read or write, and two who were in menial situations. Had those persons been elected by the popular party? No. They had been elected by the mercantile party to bring the Assembly into contempt. In 1836, the elections placed the anti-constitutional party in a minority, and the Government declared those writs void, because a little bit of wax had not been attached to them. At the new election, four mercantile men were elected; they refused to serve, and these persons were elected in their stead; so that the anti-constitutional party first elect improper persons, and then turn round and say, "Look at the improper persons who are elected under this constitution." Could anything be so gross or so in-

consistent as this? He had received a letter which gave a history of the transaction. The writer said:—

“It is a singular circumstance that all the persons who were complained of as being unfit members were returned by Protestant districts. I do not blame the Protestant constituency for this; it grew out of a combination among the Protestant merchants not to take a seat in the Assembly, even though they should be elected. In the year 1836, during the administration of Captain Prescott, there was a general election; it was hotly contested in almost every district in the island; the general result was a majority in favour of the Liberal party. Shortly after this election was declared void, owing, as it was said, to some informality in the writs. When the mercantile party could not acquire a majority, they changed their tactique, they seceded altogether—they not alone seceded, but they used their influence to return unfit persons. The person most complained of was a man named Moore; he was returned for Trinity by the influence of the house of Robinson, Brooking, and Garland, and then, after thus notoriously supporting the return, they charged the disgrace of it on the Catholic constituency. I will now give you the names of Conservatives who were returned in 1836, and who, on a new election, declined to offer themselves:—

“Robert Job, merchant, for the district of Bonavista; Thomas Bennett, ditto, Flogo; William B. Row, lawyer, Fortune Bay; John Shea, editor of a paper, Burin. These would have a great influence on a House composed of fifteen members, with a council exclusively Protestant; but they would not again offer themselves. Our constitution is now suspended. It is rumoured, that Lord Stanley, fortified by *ex parte* evidence of the witnesses before the committee, is about introducing some Act into the Imperial Parliament. If we are punished, it is because we are Catholic. We have, however, some hope that the justice of our cause will protect us.”

The jealousy of the constitution was, in fact, jealousy of the Catholics of the colony. Up to the period of the granting the constitution, Catholics were excluded from every situation. He was perfectly ready to go into any investigation of the facts of the election, during which two outrages did occur, but the accounts of them had been grossly exaggerated. He contended that House ought not to legislate without hearing the other party. Would they give a triumph to one party alone? He had gone through this case; he had not gone into a discussion respecting rates and taxes, because other opportunities would

occur for doing that. But here was a constitution, with all the regular forms, already adopted. All the American colonies had had such constitutions conceded, and had derived advantage from them. He denied that the Roman Catholics had shown any exclusive spirit, or any wish to absorb all the funds of the colony to their own purposes. To prove this, he would read an extract from the petition of the inhabitants of St. John's, Newfoundland:—

“That in order to meet the charge of the subserviency of the Assembly to the Catholic priesthood, a glance at the records of that body will prove that in no single instance was a measure not only passed for the promotion of exclusively Catholic interests, but such a measure was never once introduced or thought of; nay, on the contrary, the only measure that ever passed the Assembly with reference to religion—with the exception of the marriage Act, legalizing the marriage of Catholics and Dissenters—was the granting of a sum of money to assist the Protestants of Harbor Grace in the rebuilding the Episcopal Church, which had been destroyed by fire, which grant was proposed and seconded by Catholics, and was carried by a Catholic majority.”

The Bill was brought forward at a time when it was utterly impossible to give it a fair discussion; all from whom he might expect a fair hearing, or from whom the inhabitants might expect redress, were absent; nor had he the slightest hope of convincing those who were listening to him. He put the question on the foundation of plain common sense. All he asked of the noble lord was to postpone the Bill till the next session, till the House could hear what the inhabitants of Newfoundland had to say. Their delegates would then be here, and anything that was just and reasonable, they would be ready to do. But he did implore the noble lord not to crush the colony with such a measure as this. He concluded by moving that this Bill be committed that day three months.

*Subject, STATE OF IRELAND—ADJOURNED DEBATE ;**Date, JULY 23, 1844.*

The Whig administration went out at the close of the year 1841. O'Connell had supported this administration vigorously, though he had described its men and measures as "base, bloody, and brutal." When the Tory ministry came in with Peel, O'Connell did less work in Parliament and more in Ireland. He had become an adept in evading the law by the formation of associations. The Precursor Society now merged into the world-famous Repeal Association, with which O'Connell occupied himself actively. He was also Lord Mayor of Dublin. In 1843 O'Connell made the great mistake of absenting himself from the English Parliament; nothing could be gained by such a course. Had it not been adopted for a time by one whose powers of mind outweighed those of his contemporaries, it might be called puerile. The object was to gain something from England, but it was by tongue and pen, effectively used in the place where speech would be heard, and where pen could not be refused type, that the real work had been effected hitherto. For Irish members to refuse to represent their country in the British Senate while they had no Parliament of their own was a suicidal policy. English members who might be, and who, to their credit be it said, were convinced by Irish eloquence to redress Irish wrongs, could not be expected to use exceptional means of informing themselves on such subjects.

The Tara meeting was held and caused great excitement in Ireland, but the echoes of its appeal died away faintly on the English shore.

The Clontarf meeting was planned and abandoned at the last moment. The crafty tactics which kept back the proclamation till the very eve of the day caused O'Connell agonies of fear lest there should be a breach of the peace in consequence, and a breach of the peace would have meant a deluge of blood, and an unsuccessful rebellion. His foreseeing mind grasped all the terrible possibilities, and perhaps his master mind succumbed even then to the first touch of the fell destroyer which was so soon to begin its fatal work on the overtaxed intellect. The meeting was prevented, but not without a victim. Father Tyrrell died from sickness consequent on the over-exertions he made to avert evil. The state trials were the next great event. They began on the 2nd November, 1843. We have not space to allude further to this subject. They ended early in February, and O'Connell proceeded to London, where a stormy debate was going on. He listened in silence for a while, and then he uttered one of his most remarkable speeches.

In the debate which followed when the verdict of "guilty" was known Lord John Russell said—

"Nominally, indeed, the two countries have the same laws. Trial by jury, for instance, exists in both countries; but is it administered alike in both? Sir, I remember on one occasion when an hon. gentleman, Mr. Brougham, on bringing forward a motion, in 1823, on the administration of the law in Ireland, made use of these words—'The law of England estimated all men equal. It was sufficient to be born within the king's allegiance to be entitled to all the rights the loftiest subject of the land enjoyed. None were disqualified; the only distinction was between natural-born subjects and aliens. Such, indeed, was the liberality of our system in the times which we called barbarous; but from which, in these enlightened days, it might be as well to take a hint, that if a man were even an alien born, he was not deprived of the protection of the law. In Ireland, however, the law held a directly opposite doctrine. The sect to which a man belonged, the cast of his religious opinions, the form in which he worshipped his Creator, were grounds on which the law separated him from his fellows, and bound him to the endurance of a system of the most cruel injustice.' Such was the statement of Mr. Brougham, when he was the advocate of the oppressed. But, sir, let me ask, was what I have just now read the statement of a man who was ignorant of the country of which he spoke? No; the same language, to the same effect, was used by Sir M. O'Loughlen in his evidence before the House of Lords. That gentleman stated that he had been in the habit of going the Munster circuit for nineteen years, and on that circuit it was the general practice for the Crown, in criminal prosecutions, to set aside all Catholics and all Liberal Protestants; and he added, that he had been informed that on other circuits the practice was carried on in a more strict manner. Sir M. O'Loughlen also mentioned one case of this kind which took place in 1834, during the Lord Lieutenancy of the Marquis of Wellesley, and the Attorney-Generals'hip of Mr. Blackburne, the present Master of the Rolls, and in which, out of forty-three persons set aside (in a cause, too, which was not a political one), there were thirty-six Catholics and seven Protestants, and all of them respectable men. This practice is so well known and carried out so generally that men, known to be Liberals, whether Catholics or Protestants, have ceased to attend assizes, that they might not be exposed to these public insults. Now, I would ask, are these proofs of equal laws, or laws equally administered? Could the same or similar cases have happened in Yorkshire, or Sussex, or Kent? Are these the fulfilment of the promise made and engagements entered into at the Union?"

Mr. Macaulay said, in the same debate, February 19th, 1844 :—

"I do say that on this question it is of the greatest importance that the proceedings which the Government had taken should be beyond impeachment, and that they should have obtained a victory in such a way that that victory should not be to them a greater disaster than a defeat. Has that

been the result? First, is it denied that Mr. O'Connell has suffered wrong? Is it denied, if the law had been carried into effect without those irregularities and that negligence which has attended the Irish trials, Mr. O'Connell's chance of acquittal would have been better. No person denied that. The affidavit which has been produced, and which has not been contradicted, states that twenty-seven Catholics were excluded from the jury list. I know that all the technicalities of the law were on the side of the Crown, but my great charge against the Government is, that they have merely regarded this question in a technical point of view. We know what the principle of the law is in cases when prejudice is likely to arise against an alien, and who is to be tried *de meditate lingua*. Is he to be tried by twelve Englishmen? No. Our ancestors knew that that was not the way in which justice could be obtained—they knew that the only proper way was to have one-half of the jurymen of the country in which the crime was committed, and the other half of the country to which the prisoner belonged. If any alien had been in the situation of Mr. O'Connell, that law would have been observed. You are ready enough to call the Catholics of Ireland 'aliens' when it suits your purpose; you are ready enough to treat them as aliens, when it suits your purpose; but the first privilege, the only advantage of alienage, you practically deny them."

Mr. O'Connell spoke as follows: Sir, I hope that there is not an individual in this House who will suppose that I have risen to say anything about myself, or that there is an individual in this House who, after I have said what I intend to say, will have discovered—had he not known it by other means—that I have had any personal interest in the late trials. Sir, I arose for another purpose: I am here to make a protest; I am here to ask a question; I am here to protest in the name of my country, and on behalf of my countrymen, against the commission of one additional injustice to Ireland; and I am also here to ask the simple question of how is Ireland to be governed? I don't ask who is to govern it. I may have my preferences on that point—probably I have—but I ask, how is it to be governed? Sir, there is one fact which no man can deny; and that is—that there is no one country in the world which ever inflicted so much oppression, which ever committed so many crimes against another, as England has committed against Ireland. That, sir, is an undeniable truth. It did not require

the talents of the hon. and learned gentleman, the member for Edinburgh, to elicit that fact—every page of history teems with it—every page of history trumpets it forth to the world, that the greatest crimes that had ever been committed by one nation against another have been those of England against Ireland. But I do not mean to go through the history of Ireland to prove this point—I do not mean to go back further than the period of the Union. But for the misgovernment which has existed since the Union to the present day, this Parliament is clearly responsible. You ought to think of the situation of Ireland at the Union, and compare it with its present state. If Ireland was then in a condition of distress and destitution, and if it has since arisen to prosperity and comfort, then applaud your Government, talk of your wisdom as statesmen, and refer to the fact of the transition from want and misery to plenty and comfort as decisive evidence of the wisdom of our councils. But is it so? Is that the state in which the facts are before the world? No, sir; directly the reverse is the fact. At the period of the Union there was considerable prosperity in Ireland. For eighteen years before that time it had enjoyed the benefit of self-government, and it is a portion of history that no country in the world ever rose so fast in prosperity as did Ireland during those eighteen years. In the year 1800, when Mr. Pitt proposed the Act of Union, what were his arguments? He did not inform the House that Ireland was in a state of want and misery, and that, therefore, it would be advantageous for it to be connected with this great country, and to enjoy a participation in its commercial and manufacturing prosperity. No, sir; the case he made out, the case which it was his duty to make out, and which the facts only warranted him in making out, was, that Ireland had advanced most rapidly in prosperity for years previously—that she exported three millions' worth of manufactured goods, and imported one million's worth of manufactured goods—that her prosperity had thus accumulated when she was separate from England, and that it was clear that if she were connected with

a country so much richer than herself as England, that prosperity would be multiplied beyond calculation.

He admitted, of course—he admitted even against his own interests—that Ireland was in a state of prosperity; and the same thing was declared by the other side, by one of the most powerful statesmen in Ireland—Lord Clare. Both concurred in the material point; but not content with letting well alone, not content with allowing that prosperity to go on progressing, they thought they could accelerate its progress by joining Ireland with England. How few there were informed of the fact, that, at the time of the Union, Mr. Pitt thought that Ireland, prosperous as she then was, would multiply her prosperity in an incalculable degree by the carrying out of that measure. Sir, has the fact borne him out? Is he justified in his prophecy? Is Ireland in a state of prosperity? I am not here to talk of claims for political, and what, in some cases, may be fanciful rights. I am not speaking of the franchise—or of corporation rights—or of municipal rights—or of Parliamentary rights—but I am speaking of material and actual prosperity. Sir, what is the condition of Ireland? You talk of demagogues having power there. Oh! see the materials of their power in the poverty and distress of the country! I suppose many gentlemen have read the *Times* newspaper of yesterday. I assure the House that it was not through any influence of mine that it published the paragraph which I refer to. I did not procure it for it; but if I did, I could not get one better for my purpose. I mean the notice of a work upon Ireland. There is a German traveller, Kohl, who has visited all the countries of Europe, and who has published accounts of his travels. He is unconnected with Ireland, he has no sympathies with Repealers; on the contrary, he showed a distrust towards them. That man, in his book on Ireland, has declared, having travelled through all the countries of Europe, that in none of them did he find distress such as he saw in Ireland. There was no such thing known in other countries; and this, sir, forty-four years after the Union! But, I may refer to another witness; there is a gentleman of

the very euphonious name of Wiggins. He is agent to Lord Headley ; he was examined before Mr. Spring Rice's committee, in 1830, to show that there then existed a good prospect for the prosperity of Ireland. He said, certainly the Union was not very useful as yet, but as we are coming to a period of tranquillity, by means of the adjustment of the Catholic claims, he conceived that there was every likelihood of future prosperity. He even quoted instances of this incipient prosperity. He has now published a book, fifteen years after his prophecy he has published a book ; and, being a man familiar with Ireland, and with the condition of the people, he has declared that poverty has increased—is increasing—that everything is growing worse—that the sufferings of the people are hardly pronounceable. Those are the materials on which a popular man in Ireland grows powerful. But I have still further evidence. Look again at what the Poor Law Commissioners state. They enumerate 2,300,000 of the population as being in a state of destitution throughout a considerable portion of the year. Considerably more than one-third of the population were in a state of destitution throughout the year. It is not Kohl, or Wiggins, or any other particular individual alone, but everyone who has examined into it, that has found these facts. You have enumerated the population of Ireland—you did in 1821, again in 1831, and again in 1841. Captain Larcom, of the Artillery, superintended the enumeration in 1841. A Government report was made not only of the population, but of the state of the country too ; and what facts do I find there ? That out of the agricultural population, 70 per cent. are in a state of poverty, living in cabins having only one room ; and that 30 per cent. of the town population are in a similar state, no family having more than one room ; and in some cases several families in the same room. That is Captain Larcom's testimony. And there is another fact he gives, which will convince every one who reflects, how horrid the state of distress must be. Between 1821 and 1831, the population increased rapidly. Between 1831 and 1841, the ratio of increase was

70,000 per annum less than in the previous decennial periods. There was, consequently, 700,000 persons less in 1841 than ought to have been, and could have been found in Ireland, if the ratio had gone on from 1831 to 1841, as it had from 1821 to 1831. Can any man who hears these facts—can any one who goes across the Channel and looks for himself, deny them? And these are the effects of party—this is the situation into which we have been brought by your Government. I have shown that Ireland was prosperous before the Union. I have given you a faithful picture of her at present. Now, how do you mean to govern Ireland? You can, to be sure, take legal proceedings against some of her people; you have sent an army over. But will that remedy the evils under which she is suffering—will it mitigate them? Will it ease the deplorable poverty in which the mass of the population is sunk?

How little I should care for anything that occurred at these trials, if I could rouse this House, if I could rouse the people of this country to a due sense of the condition of Ireland, and, by inducing you to give up past contentions, I could lead you to ameliorate the state of the people. And for this end the discussion you have had on this motion is not wholly fruitless. I may be permitted to say, that I have felt the effect of it personally. With all my delinquencies on my head, the generous sympathy I have met in this country I shall never forget or conceal. I shall proclaim it from one end of Ireland to the other. This, then, is your time. Rally now for the elevation of the Irish people. Ah! but what little hope have we that this wise course will be taken? Is there any expectation of it? Is it prejudice to deny the probability of a better spirit actuating you? Has the Union been what it ought to be, the amalgamation of the two countries? It ought to have been an identification of the two islands. There should have been no rights or privileges with one that should not have been communicated to the other. The franchise should have been the same; all corporate rights the same; every civic privilege identical. Cork should have no more difference from Kent than

Yorkshire from Lancashire. That ought to have been the Union. That was Mr. Pitt's object. He distinctly obtained the sanction of the sovereign to the measure, on the ground of identifying the people, which could not be done if a dominant religion was to be maintained. Emancipation was, therefore, part of the Union. The moment it was carried, some ill-advisers of the Crown, some exceedingly conscientious men, who deemed their own religion the sole depository of religious truth, induced the King to withdraw his consent. The minister withdrew from office; but what folly, what absurdity it was not to complete a measure then ripe for adjustment! Is there any man living who will say the Union was completed? Is there any man on the other side of the House so besotted as not to admit that the Union was nominal and not real? See what an opportunity you then had of settling the differences which now beset you. There were eleven or fourteen of the bishops, I do not exactly remember which, who were willing to receive salaries from the State, and to give the Crown of Great Britain the power of nomination. You could have made your own arrangements; everything might have been settled according to your wish. But, unhappily, "the Church in danger" was the cry raised. The Union took place—an identification which was no other than that which Lord Byron speaks of as the shark identified with his prey, by swallowing it. And, what was the first Act of your Imperial Legislature? An Act for suspending the Habeas Corpus Act; the abolishing trial by jury. That was the first Act passed by the Imperial Legislature, and it was emblematic enough of the spirit in which it was intended that the Union was to be worked out. In 1805, Mr. Pitt was a party to the rejection of the Catholic petition. He lost his honour, but he reserved his place. Immediately after his death, the Whigs came into office, and carried one great measure. They abolished the slave-trade with the West Indies. They were able to do nothing for Ireland. They brought in a Bill, however, to the effect that the Crown should have the power of raising to high rank in the army and navy, those individuals

who were the proper objects of royal appointment. We were in the midst of a tremendous war, our opponent being the most powerful individual that had appeared on the globe for centuries. The Bill I have alluded to conferred nothing on the Catholics; it was a mere prerogative of the Crown. There was no compulsion on the part of the King to appoint a single additional officer. And here, sir, I cannot help putting it to the gallant officer on the other side (Sir H. Hardinge), how he should have felt, for the bravery which he displayed on the part of his country and the personal sacrifices which he cheerfully made, if he had had no other hope of reward, because his religion happened to be different from that of his Commander-in-chief. Never forget that there were gallant spirits in that army, whose chivalrous courage must have been depressed, because they were conscious they could never have reaped the reward of their valour on account of their religion. And what a paltry and short-sighted policy was yours not to use every inducement to inflame the public ardour, and to make the love of glory subservient to the interests of the empire. Yet what was the wise and sagacious policy of England? The No Popery cry was raised to an extent that seems now almost incredible. Some of the Whigs who had been representatives of counties and open towns for half a century before, lost their places. Was ever popular insanity carried to a height so absurd? You have now an opportunity of acting in the spirit which the Whigs manifested in 1805; neglect it and you will exhibit still greater absurdities than were exhibited in 1805 and 1806. Mr. Perceval then came into the ministry. He proclaimed perpetual hostility to the Catholics, and said that the spirit of the Union was to preserve the Protestants, and never to relieve the Catholics. Just as now, the right hon. gentleman (Mr. Shaw) and the noble lord (Lord Stanley) said that the Established Church is one of the Articles of the Union, and Catholic subserviency a necessary consequence. You have at last, however, outgrown the No Popery cry. Are you very sure that your Church cry is more likely to stand the test of time? Will this discussion—

will the sentiments announced by the noble member for Sunderland, a man of high rank and station, born, I may say, one of the leading statesmen of your country—will the sentiments of the Glasgow meeting, which echoed the opinion of the noble lord, tend to strengthen the position of your Church? When Mr. Perceval declared that concession could not go further, the Catholics were determined they would not take him at his word. They saw no chance for success but in their own exertions. Two prosecutions were instituted—one succeeded, the other failed. But the combination went on; the power of Napoleon increased, and its stimulating influence extended to Ireland. But through that war the Irish went with you. The Catholic priesthood, astounded by the infidelity of France, and seeing how the revolution was marked by the hideous progress of crime, which spread its lava over continental Europe, stood by you, gave good counsel to the people, prevented many and many a revolt, many and many an uprising, and demonstrated that over such a population France, with her principles, could never hope to rule.

Napoleon committed a great mistake; he was blind to the value of Ireland for his purposes. Let me rather say that a providential care preserved these countries from the frightful spread of revolutionary infidelity. As the career of Napoleon progressed and the English grew wiser, and the battles of Lutzen and Bantzen having been fought, his power was supposed to revive; the House of Commons declared that, in the next session, the claims of the Catholics should be considered. In the interval he fell, and his name became a by-word of contempt. The English nation was safe, and the House of Commons did not hesitate to slight its own pledge. The Catholics were again ill-treated. They rallied; a six years' struggle took place, and the Catholic Association was formed. We had monster meetings of various descriptions—provincial meetings, general meeting, simultaneous meetings of parishes—all these we had by our Catholic Association. You attempted a prosecution—there you failed; but you revenged yourselves by a

Coercion Bill. That was in 1825. Well, you neglected the opportunity you then had of conciliating Ireland. Recollect that all the leading agitators, the bishops, persons of every class influential amongst the Catholics, repaired to London. We threw ourselves upon our knees before you—we begged, as a beggar would ask, that you would take the state of Ireland into consideration. Did you want securities? Then you could have had them. Could you get them now? Do you expect the Thames to flow backwards? Emancipation would then have been received with gratitude. You would have been looked on as benefactors, organization would have ceased, and the elements of opposition would have dissolved in society. You had the opportunity, and I was sitting here and heard the right hon. baronet speak of the majority with which he carried the Coercion Bill, and but for the House of Lords it would have been carried. No one did more to conciliate Ireland by the hope of Emancipation than I did in 1825. You rejected it. We returned to Ireland. There was nothing left us but to say—

“ Hereditary bondsmen, know you not,
Who would be free, themselves must strike the blow ?”

That was our motto: we assembled: the people were roused, indignant at this treatment: we made offers; and we should have been grateful had they been accepted: they were refused, and Emancipation was carried. You attempted to return a supporter to the Government in the county of Clare. The freeholders turned out, they returned me for that county in 1828, by a majority of 1,900. Emancipation necessarily followed. You granted it in an undignified way. That which you might have given to entreaty you yielded to necessity. That which would have been received as a favour was esteemed as a triumph. Perhaps I am wrong in saying we are rejoiced at it, for I am bound to say that not one atom of the insolence of triumph was shown by any of our countrymen. But our Union was full of mischief—a fraudulent—not compact—but it was a fraudulent surrender—terms of capitulation granted by superior force.

You had 175,000 bayonets in Ireland to carry it; you expended £275,000, in bribery and corruption, and yet you did it in a spirit of the sheerest dishonesty, taking away 200 representatives from Ireland, and leaving her but 100, when every calculation that was directed to that purpose demonstrated that she was entitled to at least 150. When you did grant Emancipation you did it at a sacrifice of the poorer classes of voters. You sacrificed the 40s. freeholders, and raised the suffrage to £10, and you indemnified yourselves by an act of the grossest injustice on the other side, all because the Church was in danger (*"hear" and conversation*). I understand that whisper. The noble lord is mistaken. I did not consent to give up the 40s. freeholders. The noble lord will find it in that book. I will open the book for him. I insisted that the 40s. freeholders of perpetual tenure should not be meddled with; but the 40s. freeholders for a single life or death, as it would be called in Ireland, who were made for an election, I consented to give up, and I wish I could have found the same spirit elsewhere; but, that could not exist on account of this unjust Protestant Church. It is the scapegoat of all your iniquity. You think it makes your Protestant Church sure, and the hon. gentleman opposite is ready to die for it, and has surrounded it with lines of circumvallation. Every oppression in Ireland, every iniquity perpetrated on the people of that country, every right you deprive them of—coporate reform—a limited Reform Bill—everything is placed outside as a buttress to defend and support that Church. And at the present moment what is it that prevents perfect justice to Ireland but the Established Church? Well, but Emancipation having been carried, the Reform Bill, I think, was its necessary consequence, and I take some credit to myself for having assisted in carrying it. But what did the Irish get by it? You added to the representation of the counties of England—you gave Scotland eight additional representatives—you gave five to Ireland; and yet Scotland has only a population of 5,000,000, whilst that of Ireland is 8,000,000. You gave to every one of your English counties, having a population of

150,000, on the score of population alone, an increased representation. When the population was above 100,000, you gave two additional members. To Anglesea you gave two, being an additional one. You gave to Cork, with a population of 700,000, not one member additional. I not only spoke in this House until hon. gentleman were weary of listening to me, but I relaxed from my studies by writing letters for newspapers demonstrating its iniquity. I put them in the shape of a pamphlet, and placed one in the hands of every member of this House. We remonstrated at the iniquity—we showed the injustice, and that, considering the species of franchise you were to give us, and the short representation we were to have, it was impossible Ireland should have justice done her; and if there were 150 members for Ireland in this House, do you think you would be able to get an exclusive scheme of Government in that country?

But the noble lord opposite was one of those who were too careful of the Church to do justice to Ireland. His piety exceeded his love for his neighbour; his principle of doing to his neighbour as he would be done by, did not exceed his attachment to the Established Church. Then we complain of the limited state of the franchise. I am not going into statistics at any length, but in the county of Mayo there are 380,000 population, with 900 voters. In Cork there are 750,000, an agricultural population, with 1,500 voters. Wales, with 800,000, very little more than Cork, has twenty-seven representatives in this House, and 36,000 voters. Does any man imagine that the Irish are so stupid that they would contentedly live under such a scheme of Government as that—that every preference should be made before them, every insulting restriction should be enacted against them? But this was not enough. We were in this limited state of franchise when, an effort being attempted with the then Government to increase that franchise, out came the noble lord upon us, and he brought in a Bill, the effect of which would have totally annihilated the franchise we had. Though in opposition, he carried that mea-

sure through two readings in this House, and many who voted with the ministry on every other question, voted with the noble lord against Irish rights. Under these circumstances we thought it right to bring the Repeal question before the House. It was debated by the House in 1832; there was a division: we had just one Englishman with us—forty-two Irish and one English; five hundred and odd voters against us. But there was, at least, this done, there was a solemn pledge given to this House, re-echoed by the House of Lords, and assented to by the King, declaring that, although they were determined to maintain the Union, they would, notwithstanding that, redress all the grievances of Ireland. I wish the House to recollect that, instantly, Repeal agitation was given up. We accepted that pledge in 1834. An attempt was made to realise it, but the members who attempted it were overruled, partly in this House, and partly in the House of Lords. You redressed no grievance. Will any man show me that one grievance was redressed? We lay by for four years, still no grievance was redressed. If we commenced agitation it would have been said, "We gave you a solemn pledge, to which the King, Lords, and Commons were parties, having the moral effect, though not the legal effect of an Act of Parliament, all branches of the Legislature being parties to the pledge. You would not believe it, you refused to credit it, and we therefore have not been able to redress your grievances?" We passed four years without agitation, in the hope that something would be done for Ireland; and something, it appears, was done, for the noble lord brought his Bill through two readings in this House. I do not wish to trouble the House by reading documents, but as one, which I hold in my hand, contains a good deal of what I should otherwise have to state in a less condensed form, I shall take the liberty of reading it; and I implore the House to observe from it what our conduct was with respect to this subject. Before we took any other step to procure a Repeal of the Union we formed what was called the Precursor Society; and I presented this petition from that society, and moved upon it

myself in this House. The hon. and learned gentleman then read the petition as follows :—

“ The petition of the undersigned Natives and Inhabitants, Electors and Citizens of the City of Dublin,

“ HUMBLY SHOWETH,

“ WE, the undersigned, respectfully demand the attention of this honourable House to our claim for full and equal justice to Ireland.

“ Equal justice means a perfect identification of rights, privileges, and franchise for the people of Ireland, with those enjoyed by the people of England.

“ We respectfully, but most firmly, demand and insist upon that identification. The people of Ireland are entitled to, and must have, an equality of political and religious freedom with the people of England. They seek nothing more—they will not be content with anything less.

“ They are entitled to the identification and equality of rights.

“ First : As British subjects, contributing to the extent of their means equally with the British people to the revenues of the State.

“ Secondly : As the associates of the British people in all the perils, privations, and sufferings of naval and military life—contributing, as they do, more than their proportion to the ranks of the army and navy.

“ Thirdly : They are emphatically entitled to this equalization, by reason of the Act of the Legislative Union, which, to have any rational and equitable meaning, must be construed as intended to terminate all invidious distinctions and preferences between one portion of the British empire and the other.

“ They are also entitled to it by the determination expressed by both Houses of Parliament to perpetuate the Union between both countries.

“ Our present object is to render the Union complete and irreversible, by making it a real instead of a nominal Union, by changing it from an Union of parchment to an Union of interest and affection, by giving to the Irish people the benefit of the Union principle, and by abolishing the monstrous absurdity of considering both countries united only when the one is favoured and exalted, and the other oppressed and degraded.

“ That to render the Union complete, and in order to carry out the principles of that measure with practical effect, we respectfully demand the following measures :—

“ First: We demand a perfect equalization of the elective franchise in both countries, by extending the rights of voting of each country to the other; and we respectfully, also, submit that these rights ought to be enlarged in both.

"Secondly : We demand an immediate Corporate Reform, equal in every respect with that which England has obtained.

"Thirdly : We demand an adequate number of Representatives for Ireland in the United Parliament, deeming the injustice of the inferiority of Ireland to the other parts of the United Kingdom as one of the greatest grievances imposed by, and as the most unjust part of the Union Statute.

"Fourthly : We demand an equalization of religious freedom with England and Scotland. The people of England are not burdened with the Church of the minority ; the people of Scotland are not burdened with the Church of the minority. In order to place the people of Ireland on a just equality with those of England and Scotland, they ought not to be burdened with the support of the Church of the minority ; and our demand is, that they may be disembarrassed of that burden, by the application to public purposes—especially to purposes of education and charity—of the temporalities of the Protestant Church in Ireland.

"Such is the extent of our demand—

"The equalization and extension of the Elective Franchise. The equalization of Municipal Reform. The equalization of Representation. The equalization of Religious Liberty. Equalization in every right and privilege—inferiority in none—superiority on our part being out of the question. The basis of our demand is identification. We are one nation, or we are not. If we be not, it is absurd and unjust to call the present political connection a nation. If we be one nation, then it is flagrantly iniquitous to treat us as aliens, either in blood, in language, or in religion.

"Should the just prayer of our petition be granted, we who have signed this petition are bound, by integrity and good faith, not to seek the Repeal of the Union Statute. We do not put the case in the alternative. We menace nothing. We threaten no ulterior measure ; but we may venture to prophesy that, if the justice we require be refused us, the social elements of Ireland will never settle into tranquillity whilst the Union is a mere mockery and delusion, insulting and oppressive, by the inferiority which it inflicts upon the people of Ireland.

"We tell this honourable House that there are elements in the moral and physical energy of the Irish people, which will hereafter cause many to regret that they did not avail themselves of the present opportunity of consolidating the Union. We respectfully inform this honourable House that the Irish people will laugh to scorn the pretences under which justice is refused to them. Even if the Protestant Church in Ireland were in danger from the concession of the just right of the Irish people, that danger should be incurred.

"We believe that the real danger to that Church consists in its being obtruded, upon all occasions, as the motive for refusing to the people of

Ireland the rights and privileges which the people of England enjoy. We deem those persons false and foolish friends of the Protestant Church, who put forward Protestantism as the shield and protector of corporate iniquity and political oppression in Ireland; and as there is no other excuse for withholding the rights of the Irish people, save the alleged danger to the Protestant Church, from doing us justice, we do loudly and firmly, though respectfully, call upon this House, not to debase religion, by making it the cloak and accessory of crime, but to act now at length justly, and even generously, towards the people of Ireland, and to indemnify them for past oppression, by giving them full guarantee for future freedom.

"May it, therefore, please this honourable House to identify the Elective Franchise in England and Ireland—countries in which the tenures of land and houses are similar—and to give to Ireland as complete Municipal Reform as England has obtained, and to give also to Ireland her adequate proportion in the representation; and, finally, to place Ireland on a footing of equality in religious freedom with England, by allocating the temporalities of the Church of the minority in that country to purposes of charity, education, and public utility. And petitioners will pray."

I moved, sir, on that petition, for an increase of the Franchises in favour of Ireland; but what success had my motion? It was seconded, certainly; but that was all. It was opposed by the Government then in office—it was opposed by the Government now in office. It was opposed by both sides of the House alike. I will say that reasonable—that fair—offer ought to have been accepted; or if all the relief I demanded were not acceded, I submit that the House at least ought to have instituted an inquiry into the grievances of Ireland. Something ought to have been done. Nothing was done. We were scouted out of the House with contempt; and he knows little of the feelings of the Irish heart who thinks that we should not regard ourselves as degraded, if we acquiesced in silence in the injustice thus perpetrated against us, by those who sanctioned every grievance of the Union. Recollect that I should have been comparatively powerless if I had not a strong case of physical suffering in the country backing me. The poverty—the destitution of the people of Ireland, might be laughed to scorn in this House, but when you had declined affording us any remedy, was it not our duty to look for that

remedy from ourselves, and to endeavour, by our own acts, to mitigate the physical sufferings of the country? I have entered more at length than I intended to have done into the history of the crimes which England has perpetrated against Ireland since the Union. I have but little more to say, but I have, in the name of the people of Ireland, and I do it in their name only, to protest against your prosecutions. In the name of the people of Ireland I protest against the whole of that prosecution. Forty-one public meetings had been held, every one of which was admitted to be legal. Not one of those meetings has been impeached as being against law—each made in the calendar of crime a cypher, but by multiplying cyphers you come, by a species of witchcraft, to make a unit. This, that, and the other meeting were each legal, but the three together made one illegal meeting. Do you think that the people of Ireland understand that species of arguing? I tell you that they do not; and that though you may oppress them, you cannot laugh at them with impunity. Secondly, I protest in the name of the Irish people, against the striking out of all the Catholics from the jury panel. There is no doubt about the fact, that there were eleven Catholics on the panel, and that every one of them were struck off. The fact is certain; it is undisputed. There were excuses, to be sure, offered for it, but there are always excuses made for wrong committed. Oh, but the noble lord said he had a precedent, and he quoted a case in which I had acted in a similar manner. To be sure I did not hear him say the words, as I happened not to be present in the House at the time, but I perceived by those “ordinary channels” through which matters that take place in this House reach the public ear, that he charged me with having packed a Catholic jury. Perhaps he did not use the word “packed.” That is not so refined a word as the noble lord would employ, but it is equally significant. He said that I had “arranged” an exclusively Catholic jury to try a Protestant gentleman. I admit that to be a very serious charge indeed; for though I had no public responsibility vested in me on the occasion, I

had that responsibility which every gentleman at the bar feels to rest with him—namely, that of not outraging decency and justice by any act of his in the discharge of his professional duties. The case to which the noble lord alluded was that of General Bingham, a gentleman who, as a politician, was favourably disposed towards the popular party, and who was a very distinguished officer. He happened to enter into an altercation on the high road, and to drive against his opponent. The assault was not very serious, and yet that is the great case—that is the “State Trial” on which I am charged with having packed a Catholic jury. I am literally stating facts, but, perhaps, the hon. gentleman opposite has an objection to facts. The counsel with me in that case were John Bennett, a Protestant, and Feargus O'Connor, a Protestant, and it was by them that the proceedings connected with the formation of the jury were conducted. I am not shrinking from any responsibility, either direct or remote, that may be attached to my conduct; but the fact was, I happened to be engaged in another court until the moment when the last juror was in the act of being sworn. But, then, was it a packed jury? There were two Protestant gentlemen on that jury, and as all the jurors must be unanimous before the prisoner could be found guilty, it could not be regarded as a religiously packed jury. It happened, besides, that after I commenced my statement of the case, Mr. B. Travers, one of the Protestants upon the jury, was seized with sudden illness, and had to retire, and I then allowed Mr. O’Hea, a Protestant magistrate, to be sworn in his place.

I admit that, if I had the baseness of packing a jury of a different religion from the prisoner, to try one who had been a violent political partisan: if I had packed a jury of Catholics to try a man who had felt it to be his duty through life to take an active and vigorous part in sustaining what are called Protestant principles against the Catholics, there is no possible degradation that I should not think myself deserving of. But General Bingham was not opposed to the Catholics or popular

claims, and the jury before whom he was tried was not exclusively composed of Catholics; and I think I have, therefore, vindicated myself from the charge which the noble lord thought fit to bring against me. They have also sent me lists of two other juries along with that which I have just referred to. One of these was a jury of five Catholics and seven Protestants that, in the year 1838, tried a Catholic priest on a charge of conspiracy? And what was the verdict of the jury so composed? Was it an acquittal, or did the jury disagree? No; but found the prisoner guilty, without leaving the box. The other case has been sent to me from Midleton. It was a case of sedition that had been tried there. The prisoner was a Catholic, and the jury, which was composed of ten Catholics and two Protestants, found the prisoner guilty, also, without leaving the box. I mention these cases to the House, because they enable me to spurn with indignation the base insinuation, that ten or eleven Catholic jurors would perjure themselves in any case in which they would be empanelled. Protesting in the name of the people of Ireland against that accusation, and knowing it, as they do, to be utterly untrue, I leave it as a stigma with you for the mode in which you constituted the jury in the recent trial. They have, also, bid me complain of the diminution of the jury list, which, whatever insinuations may have been thrown out against the man M'Grath, has not been, I think, properly accounted for. A challenge was put into the array, not set forth generally, as in the Welsh case, but averring distinctly that the omission of the names was fraudulently done with intent to injure the traversers. I was not here when, as I have been informed, it was said by the very Attorney-General for England—than whom, I do not think any gentleman ever conducted a prosecution with more perfect accuracy and propriety than has been exhibited by him on every occasion in which he has been concerned—that there could not be, as he thought, a reply to that plea, because the names were not set forth. But, surely, he cannot forget, that a man may be tried for murder, where the name of the person murdered is unknown; and, if the law were otherwise,

would not the effect be, that crime would escape with impunity, if it could not be punished where—though the crime was witnessed—the injured party happened to be unknown? But, would it not, I ask, have been prudent and wise, when a fraud of such an intent was set forth as the ground of a challenge, for the Attorney-General for Ireland not to have shrunk from the proof, but to have met it boldly and openly? The Attorney-General did not act well according to his mode of proceeding, in declining to meet that proof, because he knew the case which he had to sustain, and he has claimed credit for having done so. I have but one observation more to make on the subject of that trial. It is one which I would make with some regret if it were not the fact, that I make it with some peril to myself. It is with reference to the charge of the Chief Justice; and I fearlessly assert that, since the time of Scrogga and Titus Oates, there never was delivered so one-sided a charge. These are the complaints that I have to make on the part of the people of Ireland; and I now turn from them and ask you, what is it you propose to do for the people of Ireland? You probably intend to keep an army of some 22,000 or 23,000 men there; but, can you continue to do so, consistent with the necessary demands upon you from the colonies? But there are some proposals of amelioration made, as I have learned through the same channels through which I discovered what the noble lord had said of me. The first of these is the enlargement of the grant. I do not know is it at Maynooth? (“*No, no!*”) Well, is it for education generally? and, I have to express my gratification at any aid given to education, as I think you cannot educate people too much; though you may educate them to a formidable purpose against yourselves. The next measure of conciliation is the introduction into Ireland of the English Catholic Charities Bill, known as Mr. Lamb’s Bill. I do not know any measure that would do a greater amount of mischief in Ireland than that would effect, though it had been introduced originally for England by myself. The hon. member for Oxford, however, took care to be most punctual in his attendance

whenever I had it in the list, and I had at length to complain to the then administration of my inability to carry it, and they got Mr. Lamb to introduce it in his own name. The Statute for Superstitious Uses, passed in the reign of King Edward VI., has never been extended to Ireland; and, even in England, it was a mere retrospective Act; though, singularly enough, Lord Eldon treated it as being also a declaratory Act. The old statutes of mortmain do not apply to the Catholic clergy in Ireland, as they are not recognised as corporations, and Catholic charities have accordingly been administered by the Equity Courts in Ireland, at all times, as efficiently as Protestant charities. What I would suggest would be, the introduction of a Bill making the Catholic bishop in each diocese a quasi-corporator, so as to enable him to take any quantity of land, the extent of which you might, if you wished, fix within certain limits, and give him power to leave it to his successor without the intervention of trustees, heirs at law, or executors. There is another point, that which relates to the fixity of tenure. Now, I say you are doing immense mischief by not acting expeditiously with reference to that matter, because you are unsettling the minds of all the actual occupiers. There is a feeling abroad, that all who have been ejected within the last six years will be restored. It is a melancholy fact which cannot be prevented—there is a difficulty in your Government getting credit for any useful measure, and the moment the people see a probability of a change, you unsettle their position. You must act rapidly. What I propose you should do is this: you must first make the law of landlord and tenant similar to the law as it stood at the time of the Union; you must strike out every statute you have passed from that day to this to benefit the landlord. That can be accomplished; you have the laws, and the landlords made them; and how can the landlords complain? They even preceded you in passing Acts for facilitating the making distresses in Ireland. The General Replevin Act was passed in Ireland before it was passed in England. In England it was passed in

the reign of George II., and in Ireland, in the reign of Anne. This is within your own limits.

You have much more to do, if you will only try with a spirit and disposition to act fairly for Ireland. You should inquire into the financial arrangements which were made at the Union. I will not trouble you by reading the documents which have been drawn up by the Repeal Association on the subject of the financial condition of Ireland; but if you will condescend to read them, they will show you that a greater injustice was never committed than that which has been committed since the Union, and in consequence of the Union, by the nature of the financial arrangements in Ireland. I say to you on that subject, do her financial justice. The only grievance that has been redressed is that of the corporations; but that is an insult and not a redress. It has thrown out one party from power, and given the shadow of power to the other party, and has dissatisfied them. Make a corporate reform for Ireland equal to that which you have made for England. We do not ask more. Give us that redress which you have given to others. Regulate the corporations in Ireland according to the proportion that the Protestant population bears to the Roman Catholic. I now come to another question—absenteeism; the cause of increasing poverty and destitution. Look upon absenteeism as a crime in Ireland. It ought to be punished as if it were a crime. It is said, how can you get at absentees to tax them? I say you have done it—you have done it by your income tax. The Irish landlord in England pays the income tax. You have the machinery; you can compel him to go back to his country and attend to his wretched serfs (*a cheer from an Irish member*). An Irish landlord cheers me. I am glad of it, for there is not a better landlord in Ireland; there is no necessity for a law to compel him to attend to his tenants; send back others, and let them follow his example. I am talking of an evil with which I am afraid you will not meddle; it wants a radical cure, for it is an evil too great to be borne. There is another boon I ask

for Ireland. Give us an adequate share in the representation. You have rotten boroughs which you can lop off; there is Harwick, with 175 voters, returning two members, and the county of Cork, with a population of 750,000, returning two members also. It has been admitted at the commencement of the present Parliament that there never were instances of greater profligacy than those which occurred at the last election. The hon. member for Bath made disclosures to you; you should act upon them, and give us a fair representation. I come now to the last obstacle of all, and the greatest—the Church. Can tranquillity ever exist in Ireland as long as there is a poor Church, totally unconnected with the State, perfect in all its parts, supported by the majority of the people, and, I am bound to say, insulted by the superiority of a wealthy Church supported by the minority? No one asks you to deprive any living man in this rich Church of his vested interest. Let not the revenues of the present incumbents be diminished; only apply the principle to the successor. You should look at Ireland with the eye of a master, and you will see that till there is religious equality there cannot be political peace. How will you give religious equality? You are told by some to pay the stipends of the Roman Catholic Bishops and clergy; they refuse it; it is impossible for them to accept the money of the State; they would lose caste if they did accept it. They are convinced that the connection between Church and State is injurious to the one and destructive to the other; that is their thorough conviction, and is also my thorough conscientious feeling. You have not a sufficient treasury to pay them; you could only dole out pitiful salaries, which would excite, but not satisfy them. At whatever point of view you look at it, it is impossible. As to talking of their sitting in Parliament, I would rather see them in any place that was not disreputable than in Parliament. Well, as to the other plan—does the Protestant religion require all the money it now enjoys? Would it fall if the clergy were not paid by the State? Is it necessary that religious truth should be backed by money? You tell me

the Protestant religion would fall if its ministers were not so paid. If that be the case, what a triumph it must be to me to belong to the Roman Catholic Church! The Catholics once had all the livings; they had been taken away, and that Church has only had some donations since the Reformation. You deprived the Roman Catholic Church of Ireland of all her revenues, and hunted her priests into the fastnesses. You set the same price on the head of a wolf as you did on that of a priest. And has the Catholic Church fallen for want of money? No; she never was in a more triumphant state than at the present moment. She has four archbishops, twenty-three bishops, fifty deans, sixty archdeacons, two thousand parish priests, with two or three curates each. She has an unbroken hierarchy, as regular, as orderly, and as perfect as it was the day before Henry VIII. ascended the throne. It is not money, then, that supports her; she is no disciple of money; in that respect she gives you a lesson. Have you not the same faith as we have? Are not the Scripture truths propagated by the power of argument, by the influence of education, and the talents of the clergy? Are they not sufficient for the defence and the protection of your religion? Why, then, is the country to be divided? I implore you, then, to look with the eyes of men and statesmen, and cure this anomaly of the Church of the few possessing temporalities, and the Church of the poor possessing nothing but their blessings. I will go back to my country, and carry back your answer. I am afraid it will not be satisfactory. I wish it were. Since the connection between the two countries, has there not been enough of ill-will? Is it not time to lay aside all enmity and malice? Has not the period come when, as Christians, as men, as brothers, we should put an end to the distinction—the odious distinction—between Irishmen and Englishmen, between Catholics and Protestants? Is it not time that all those distinctions, odious in all their relations, should be abolished and done away with, and that there should be a rivalry only in offices of charity and justice?

Subject, COLLEGES (IRELAND); Date, JUNE 16, 1845.

This was O'Connell's first parliamentary speech after his incarceration—when the malady, which ultimately killed him, had already begun its ravages.

Mr. O'Connell—I don't mean to agitate the question of Repeal on this occasion; and I will, therefore, only say that the hon. gentleman who has just sat down is a very bad theologian—an exceedingly bad theologian—and being so very bad, it would be well worth his while to inquire a little into the facts before he makes statements on such subjects as that of which he has just been speaking. No Catholic bishop in Ireland could deprive a priest of his functions after a formal induction or a triennial possession. The hon. member for Montrose has spoken of the interference of the Catholic bishops, as if they wished to interfere with a system of education for Protestants, but they have done no such thing. I should be happy to hear of Protestant bishops interfering to secure the religious education of Protestant children—or of Presbyterian clergymen interfering to secure the religious education of Protestant children; and I claim the same right for the Catholics; namely, that the Catholic bishops shall be permitted to take care of the religious education of the Catholic children. I thank the right hon. baronet opposite (Sir R. Inglis) for the admirable description which he gave of this measure when he called it “a gigantic scheme of godless education;” and as regards the alleged success of the system on the continent, so far am I from assenting to that allegation, that I think nothing can be more unsuccessful than the efforts of those who seek to exclude from education religion, which should be the basis of it. I believe that religion ought to be the basis of education; and I came over from Ireland for no other purpose than humbly to represent the necessity of making religion the basis of education; to establish it, not only as a part, but as an essential part of it. I sincerely hope and desire that the discussion of this subject will be carried on with good temper and good feeling,

and that we shall not imitate the hon. member opposite (Mr. Colquhoun) in adopting such a tone, and making unfounded assertions of others who are absent. He boasted two or three times that he was a gentleman, and I think it would be far more consistent with the character of a gentleman if he had acted with more courtesy towards the Catholic bishops. He says that he is not in Conciliation Hall. He is not, it is true; and I should like to know what business he could have in Conciliation Hall, or any conciliation assembly. I must again express a hope that the discussion of this measure will be conducted with perfect courtesy and good humour, and I can pledge myself that such will be the case so far as I am concerned.

Subject, COLLEGES (IRELAND)—ADJOURNED DEBATE;

Date, JUNE 23, 1845.

Mr. O'Connell said—Sir, if this debate had not taken a desultory course, and had not avoided the great measure in dispute, I should have taken the liberty to have obtruded myself much earlier upon the attention of the House, and to have expressed my opinions then in as few sentences as I now mean to address to it. I cannot, however, go on without referring to Sir Philip Crampton, lest it should be supposed that I meant to say anything derogatory to that gentleman, or to insinuate anything that was unworthy of his reputation. I named an instance which I thought was the strongest that I could have adduced, because the mistake into which that gentleman fell was a mistake deduced from Protestant writers. He himself was utterly unconscious that what he was stating was not the literal fact. The Rev. Dr. Miley convinced him that it was not so, and he at once gave evidence of his high character, and the regard which he had for the truth, by retracting the expressions which he had used against the Court of Rome. I have half a mind to detain the House for a few minutes on the subject of Galileo. The right hon. baronet himself introduced it. The general idea is that Galileo was imprisoned for supporting

the Copernican system, and that he was for a length of time in the Inquisition. In point of fact, he was in the Inquisition three days only. Three days constituted the entire length of time which Galileo spent in the Inquisition; and so far from his being sent to gaol for promulgating the Copernican system, the Pope who was the contemporary of the philosopher was the very man who enabled Copernicus to publish his discoveries. Galileo was imprisoned for quite a different thing. He asserted that the centralization of the sun and the movements of the planets could be proved out of Scripture. He was forbidden to publish that doctrine. He broke the prohibition, and was sent to gaol for three days for a breach of the injunction; and that was the history of his imprisonment. I regret that the Government has expressed its determination to persevere with this Bill in its present form, and based upon its present principles. I am not disposed to give any heed at all to the array of motives charged upon the Government for bringing it forward. Almost all our actions proceed from mixed motives. I believe that the predominant motives which actuated the ministers in this matter was to bring forward a measure conciliatory to Ireland. I am quite free to confess, that I believe that such was the leading object of the Bill. I should like to know from the hon. member for Winchester, who paid me a high compliment, attributing to me much power, what were the other measures relative to Ireland brought in by the Government which I could support? The condition of Ireland is now such that no delay can be afforded in the application of a remedy. Ireland is in a frightful state. You have the most decided evidence of that fact in the Reports of Committees and of Land Commissions.

In 1830, Mr. Spring Rice spoke of the great distress which then existed, but was full of hope that relief would be speedily afforded. In 1834, the Poor Law Inquiry Commissioners said that there were 2,300,000 persons in a state of destitution in Ireland. You have now a Land Commission, and what does it tell you? Why it announces to you the startling fact, that

4,500,000—that is to say, more than one-half of the population of Ireland—are in the melancholy condition thus described. They are badly fed, badly clothed, badly housed, and badly paid; their food potatoes—their drink water—a bed and blanket luxuries to them almost unknown; in fact, they are suffering more than any other peasantry in Europe. That is the condition of Ireland, and is it not a condition full of horror? Forty-five years after the Union that is the condition of Ireland! Mr. Spring Rice, in 1830, promised amelioration. Mr. Wiggins, at the same period, expected the approach of relief; but in 1844 he writes a letter, declaring that he was convinced that he was totally mistaken, and that the destitution of the people of Ireland had increased. Of what other people can such a description be given as that which can, unfortunately, be drawn of the people of Ireland? This description is given by Lord Devon's Commission, and there cannot be the least doubt of its accuracy. If it is inaccurate, it is because its colouring is not sufficiently high, and not the least hope of amelioration is held out without the most complete change of measures. Recollect, also, that the agrarian disturbances in Ireland are accumulating year after year. You hear of more and more murders year after year. You hear with horror, and you should hear with repentance, of the increasing number of those hideous assassinations committed by the friends of ejected tenantry upon those who are instrumental in their ejection. The evil is proceeding north. The disturbances are spreading which now pervade the centre of the county of Roscommon, the entire of the county of Leitrim, and part of the county of Cavan; and a meeting of magistrates was held the other day in Fermanagh, where no less than two murders have been perpetrated under the present system within a short space of time. Are the gentlemen of England—are gentlemen in the House of Commons aware that this is the situation of Ireland? They cannot, if they give themselves leave to think, doubt that it is so. The evidence is of the most cogent character, and no doubt can be entertained of the fact which it but too strongly proves. And

yet you are talking here of your mighty boon. What is that boon? The people are starving. Feed them before you educate them. Don't think of such a Bill as I understand has got into the other House of Parliament. Don't mock us with your paltry unfencing of lands. You are calling upon the tenantry of Ireland—that tenantry of whom I have just given you a description—out of the little capital they have saved, to improve their lands, and if they happen to die within thirty years afterwards, their heirs will get some portion of the value of the improvements. When I addressed this House at the period between my conviction and sentence, I asked the Government what they were going to do for Ireland? It was no matter what became of me, my desire was that they should do something for Ireland. Though they did nothing for Ireland, they had on hand a scheme of their own which was to suppress in Ireland the expression of its sense of grievance and wrong. I got no response to my question as to what you were going to do. Let me, then, ask what you now will do for Ireland? I call upon the hon. member for Winchester—and I feel exceedingly flattered by his attentions towards me—I call upon him to say what can the Government do for Ireland; what will the Government help me to do for Ireland? Have the manliness to meet the Irish landlord. One way in which to do good is to make such a change in the present landed system as to afford the people a chance. Do I owe an apology for adverting to this subject? I think not; for it is highly important as regards the question before us. If you want to do anything else for us from which we can expect any good at your hands, you must shape this measure in such a way as that it can be received, and come into action. It will not do for you to make admirable and eloquent speeches like the one to which I listened with pleasure but a few minutes ago; they may sound exceedingly well, but they do no good at all. Your triumphant majorities; your exclaiming, “hear hear;” your declaiming against those who differ from you in opinion, are valueless themselves. Turn your majorities to good account; make them really useful to

Ireland. The present Government is the strongest Government which has been known for a century, and you have everything in your power. Give us then, at least, this measure in such a shape as will enable the people of Ireland to receive it as a boon. You accuse yourselves for not having consulted the ecclesiastical authorities of every description in Ireland before you brought in this Bill. I do not know what harm it would have done you to have so consulted them. You might have told them that you were not to be bound by the opinions received from them, but it would have assisted yourselves in coming to a right determination to have consulted them. The people of England will not sanction this scheme of godless education, and you must introduce religion into your system, or it will not be received by the people of Ireland. The Irish are essentially a religious people. Infidelity is unknown in Ireland. Act manfully, therefore; make religion the basis of your proceedings, and fear not. By so doing you will have a better prospect before you—you will have the protection of a higher Power if you adopt proper principles as the foundation of your scheme; but do not flatter yourselves with the idea that you are doing anything conciliatory to Ireland if, in a matter of this kind, you exclude religion from your consideration. Let there be Presbyterianism for the Presbyterian, Protestantism for the Protestant, and Catholicism for the Catholic. I want nothing for the Catholic which I am not ready to assert for others. Let there be fair play and justice to all.

One would think that, if you introduced religious instruction into the Colleges, you were afraid that you were introducing for the first time the elements of strife and dissension. By Heaven! are not these elements in existence at present? Are men in Ireland not Catholics, Protestants, or Presbyterians, whether you give the instruction or not? By showing fair play to all, by giving the opportunity of a more constant and attentive observance of religious duties, and by giving more religious instruction, you will give a better chance to the development of that which is the predominant quality

in the Christian religion—charity towards each other; and by thus showing fair play and justice to all, you would have a better prospect, at least, of effecting that reconciliation between creeds which is so desirable. If you fail in your present scheme, wou't you be the laughing-stock and the ridicule of the world? If you fail in the scheme of giving religious education, you would have the consolation of knowing that you had failed in a mighty and a majestic attempt—an attempt worthy of statesmen, and worthy in every way of Christian exertions. Do now make an effort in the right direction, and fear not the result. Let me now remind you that the Catholic bishops of Ireland have met on this subject; that they have enunciated their opinions, and pronounced your Bill dangerous both to faith and morals. That is the judgment which they have pronounced upon it. You may scorn their decision, and treat with levity their declaration; but I warn you to recollect that six millions and upwards of the people of Ireland treat their decision with profound respect. Recollect, too, that that decision has gone abroad among the mass of the Irish people. Conciliate the Protestants, and educate the Protestants; conciliate the Presbyterians, and educate the Presbyterians; but, recollect, when you come to talk of educating the Catholics, that you must necessarily pay attention to that to which they pay attention—the decision of their bishops. Already have their bishops told them that your plan of education is dangerous both to faith and morals. When they want, by way of guarantee to them that a number of the professors should be Catholics, it is not meant that a man calling himself a Catholic should be preferred to a Protestant, nor is it meant that a Protestant should be educated by a Catholic professor. Have you not, even in Belfast, two Professors of Divinity? Have you not there a double set of professors? And if you want for the protection of Protestants and Presbyterians a double set of professors, are not the Catholic bishops, whose duty is to superintend the religious instruction of the people, justified in requiring the means of protecting the Catholics? You tell me

that you will protect the Catholics. You say, that if a professor preaches infidelity, you will dismiss him. I am not satisfied with that. I mean you no disrespect, but I will not take your word for it. The bishops insist on having a power lodged in them for finding out the infidelity, and of having some voice, at least, in the dismissal of the professors who might inculcate it. I do not say that in every instance a professor of one persuasion will insinuate doctrines inimical to another. But they say we will not run the risk—that it is too awful a risk to be run. They want not to interfere with your interests—all they want is to be able to watch over their own; and they insist upon having the means of ascertaining whether that interest is not sacrificed.

These are the grounds on which we stand. It is not that the bishops say that Protestantism will mislead the Catholics; all that they insist upon is, that Protestantism is capable of misleading the Catholics. This has already been exhibited in Belfast. The professors of Unitarian persuasions are accused of introducing into their lectures Unitarian matter. The fact there is already proved; and really, if it was not so proved, it is in human nature that it should be so, and that the danger apprehended should exist. The hon. member for Newcastle-under-Lyne (Mr. Colquhoun) stated distinctly that the professors there broached infidel opinions in giving their lectures. I think direct allusion was made to the chair of Moral Philosophy. (*Mr. Colquhoun* : “ *To the Professor of Greek.*”) To the Professor of Greek! Now, speaking of the matter, independently of the fact that it really is so, what excellent speeches might be made in this House, what cheers might be elicited, by its being asked, “Do you suspect the Professor of Greek? What has he to do with religion? He is only teaching a language; teaching his pupils to conjugate *ῥύρω* and the like.” To say that there was any danger from him, would make us only be laughed at. And yet, this very Professor of Greek is caught in the fact of inculcating infidelity upon his scholars. What do the bishops insist upon? Simply that there shall be no possibility of this

in future taking place. As to your amendments of this Bill, what in reality have you done? You have taken more power to yourselves. We want protection against you, against the ministry of the day, whatever and whoever they may be. The Catholics require that they shall not be subject to the caprices or mistakes of the ministry. The ministry have not time to examine Professors of Anatomy and Science—they must take their information from others; and, in nine instances out of ten, so long as I have been a member of this House, we should have known the political tenets of these professors from those who appointed them. I really believe that future ministers would take as much care of their friends, and be as sure not to promote their enemies as any ministry has ever been. The fact is, to conciliate the people of Ireland, you must conciliate the Catholic prelates. To prepare a measure which will be acceptable to the people you must consult the Catholic prelates. The bishops are now assembled, and you are aware of what they would consider a sufficient protection to their religion. At present they have proclaimed the Bill dangerous to faith and morals. That is their present proclamation; and there is no sincere Catholic in Ireland who does not know that, as far as religious instruction is concerned, he is bound by the decision of his bishop. Scientific instruction is another thing. But, as far as religious instruction is concerned, or rather when a scheme is presented to that people, from which religious instruction is excluded, they cannot consent to receive education based upon such a principle. You may think the clamour gone which was raised in England. The clamour against the Maynooth Bill was the most senseless and atrocious display of calumny, hatred, bigotry, and bad feeling, which ever disgraced any country. That had now exhausted itself. You do not perceive a symptom of it remaining. It has gone by, and so has the snow of last winter. You have nothing now to fear from it. You carried your Bill manfully. You did it, and it did you great credit. I come not here with overweening expressions of gratitude; but I am grateful for that measure. I am here to declare that

there never was a measure brought in with more complete fair play and justice, and with a more honest intention of carrying it out fairly for the people for whom it was intended. That measure was perfect in its kind; equal to any which ever passed through Parliament; and you are entitled to great credit for having carried it against the senseless and unjust clamour which bigotry, for the time, succeeded in raising against it. Take one step more, and consider whether this Bill may not be made to accord with the feelings of the Catholic ecclesiastics of Ireland. I ought not to detain you. I am not speaking here in any spirit of hostility. I should be most happy to give every assistance in my humble power to make this Bill work well. I have the most anxious wish to have the Bill work well, because I am desirous of seeing education promoted in Ireland; but even education may be a misapplied power. I admit that at one time I thought the plan of a mixed education proper; and I still think that, in literature and science, a system of mixed education would be proper; but with regard to religious education, I think that each denomination of Christians should be educated by their respective religious instructors. Let the students be put down upon terms of perfect equality in respect to religion, and then you will have a basis laid for an equality of education in literary and scientific pursuits which would gain the cordial assent of all parties in Ireland. Certainly, the Bill as it now stands may seem to confer very formidable powers on the minister of the day in the nomination of the professors, and the degree of control which they will be enabled to exercise over these colleges; and, more especially, they may appear so to a thorough Radical like myself; but I am not afraid of these powers. The smuggler meets his check in the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and so, in as far as the powers conferred by this Bill are concerned, where the ministers may acquire the means of making one man, perhaps, grateful, they, in all probability, will incur the hatred of fifty. Again, I repeat, I am most anxious for the success of this Bill; but I fairly tell you it cannot succeed without the Catholic bishops. They have the

faith of six millions of people in their hands. There may have been harsh expressions in the public papers, but depend upon it great anxiety exists in Ireland to have such a measure, if you will but make it effective; and if you choose to make it effective you have the power. For myself, I am not indisposed to vote with the noble lord, but that is without prejudice to any better mode being considered when we come into committee. But let me here express a hope that there will be no persevering with the committee this night. A few days' delay may have a most important effect. I am so strongly impressed with that opinion that I do hope that the right hon. baronet will not proceed with the Bill in committee to-night. However, which way soever you may decide in that respect, I trust the House will believe that what has fallen from me has been uttered in the fairest spirit of good faith. My political power elsewhere may be deemed a jest, but here it is a reality. I am ready to join in any measure that may be useful to the people of Ireland, and that may tend to do away with the spirit of disaffection existing in that country. It is not a political disaffection; it is not a religious disaffection; but it is a physical disaffection. You, gentlemen of England, have no notion of its extent or of its intensity; and though it may not display itself at this moment, sufficient to alarm you or arouse you, still the time may come, after some of us shall have gone to our graves, when that physical disaffection may have the most frightful consequences.

Subject, COLLEGES—Ireland; Date, JUNE 30, 1845.

Mr. O'Connell said he should not consider that he discharged his duty if he allowed the Bill to go into committee without offering a few remarks to the House upon it. The right hon. baronet was perfectly just in thinking that the House ought not to submit to the dictation of any parties, however respectable or venerable; but they should not forget, at the

same time, that their object in legislating ought to be successful. What would their waste of money or their appointment of professors signify, if they afterwards failed in the object which they had in view? His opinion was that they would not succeed if they continued to proceed with the Bill, in opposition to the opinions and advice of the Catholic bishops. The right hon. baronet had stated that the Bill had been much altered since the Catholic prelates had expressed their opinion upon it; but he (Mr. O'Connell) believed he had authentic evidence that these alterations had made no change whatever in their views regarding the Bill. The following was a letter which he had received within the last few days on the subject:—

"Maynooth College, June 26, 1845.

"MY DEAR MR. O'CONNELL—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your kind and respected communication. Though my reply has been somewhat tardy, it is most consolatory to me to be able to convey to you, that the sentiments of the bishops relative to the dangers to faith and morals with which the Collegiate Education Bill is fraught, remain unaltered. It has been reprobated in such terms as became the divinely constituted guardians of the faith and morality of their respective flocks to apply to it. However, though some of the prelates were of opinion that a petition to Parliament, framed on the model of the memorial to the Lord Lieutenant, would aid much in averting the threatened calamity, others thought it not right to encounter once more contemptuous disregard of the just requisitions of the Catholic prelates of Ireland.

"You can, however, with a confidence, fearless of contradiction, state that the resolutions of the bishops regarding this bad scheme of academic education remain in full force, and that no ministry can ever hope to render tolerable to the Catholic people of Ireland so penal and revolting an enactment.

"You have full liberty to make any use you may think proper of this communication. Wishing you and your faithful adherents all your wonted energy and success in combating this anti-Catholic measure, I remain, my dear Mr. O'Connell, your very respectful and devoted,

✠ JOHN MACHALE.

"Daniel O'Connell, Esq., M.P., London."

That was the opinion, regarding the measure, of the Archbishop of Tuam. It showed that he still considered the Bill to

be one which would hold out temptations to youth to neglect the duty which they owed to the principles of their religion ; and though describing it as a " penal and revolting enactment," might be considered in that House as too strong a condemnation of the measure, it was in itself evidence of the feelings which were entertained in Ireland respecting it. The object of the Government in introducing the Bill was to be successful ; but they could not expect success if they met with the decided opposition of the clergy of two-thirds of the Irish people ; of that portion, too, of the people who required additional facilities for education most, and to whom, if properly administered, it would prove most valuable. His objection to the Bill was, that it was an irreligious one ; that it provided no means of instruction in religion ; and in this point he did not think it had been improved by the alterations that had been made in it ; since in its first introduction originally it left religion out of the question altogether. The principal object of human life was in it totally disregarded. They now came forward with a Bill in which they condescended to tolerate religion. They were kind enough to permit religion to be taught, but that was all. Now, he did not really think that to be any great concession. If the Catholic people of Ireland thought fit to erect a hall in a town in which one of these colleges was situated, the Government would allow of its existence. But what law was now in force that could prevent the Catholics from founding such an establishment ? They did not open any law or confer any benefit not already enjoyed by this Bill ; but they made—to use the words of the Archbishop of Tuam—a penal enactment. They gave dictatorial powers to their Visitors over these halls, while they did nothing towards the founding of them. In a recent case heard before Lord Chancellor Sugden, it was decided that there is no law in existence limiting the power of establishing convents and places of education for the Catholic people of Ireland. The Legislature, therefore, in passing this measure, did nothing affirmatively, but they did something negatively. They would, thus, by their proceeding, which he has no doubt was well-

intentioned, excite jealousies and religious animosities amongst all classes in Ireland. They had already the animating distinction in existence in that country. They had that "darkness," to use the term employed by the right hon. baronet, in which error and bad feeling might be most easily propagated; but they refused to remove it by giving the genuine light of religious education to the people, religious education to Protestants—religious education to Catholics—religious education to Presbyterians. They would promote the charity and the common Christianity of all by giving such religious education; whereas, by turning religion out of their colleges, or making its existence in them merely persuasive, they held back from the children the advantages of Christian truth, leaving matters in their original darkness, and instead of advancing their own views, they, on the contrary, defeated them. Then, again, it should be recollected that the Protestants of Ireland were the most wealthy class; and if the Bill merely gave permission to build halls, was it not probable that three, four, or five Protestant halls would be erected for one Catholic hall? If they wished, instead of allowing wealth to triumph over religious poverty, they should take the subject of providing for religious instruction into their own hands, and thus place all religious persuasions on a footing of perfect equality. It was not his intention, however, to divide the house at that stage of the Bill. He would find it to be his duty to press for a division on one of the early clauses, and having done so, he would consider that he had performed his duty against it. He would do so, not with any hope of success, but in order to protest against its provisions; to protest against it for giving merely a kind of left-handed permission, but no real assistance whatever to the best and most important branch of education—the religious education of the Irish people.

Subject, FAMINE AND DISEASE IN IRELAND ;

Date, FEBRUARY 17, 1846.

This scourge, long to be remembered in Ireland, was already threatening our unhappy land. Hitherto O'Connell had been sternly demanding moral, religious, and political freedom for his people ; but now he cried for bread. The whole subject has been so ably treated in a recent work* that, even had we space for details, they would not be necessary.

It can now be said that the English Government were fully forewarned of the impending famine. O'Connell prepared a plan to meet the evil, worthy of his best days. The matter was brought before the Lord Lieutenant by an influential deputation, but it was received with indifference, and O'Connell treated with contempt ; he was not necessary to the Tory Government then in power. If O'Connell's plan had been carried out, and it was perfectly possible, the lives of thousands would have been saved. He only wished to have the people employed in works of national utility, to have the ports closed against the export of corn, which was exceptionally abundant, and to forbid the use of grain in distillation.

The deputation was bowd out, and the usual number of fictitious committees, impracticable plans, and inane suggestions, were offered instead of common sense and prompt action. The Irish people were talked to death. Corn Laws for England and Coercion Laws for Ireland were the stones offered where bread meant life.

Mr. O'Connell rose to call the attention of the House to the state of famine and disease in Ireland. His intention was to move—

“That this House will, on Monday next, resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House, to take into consideration the state of Ireland, with a view to devise means to relieve the distress of the Irish people.”

And it was a motion to which he respectfully demanded the utmost attention of the House. The importance of the subject was of itself sufficient to demand attention ; but he should have been spared the whole of his labour had it suited the purpose of the right hon. baronet, in the course of his speech

* “History of the Great Irish Famine of 1847,” by the Rev. J. O'Rourke, P. P., M. R. I. A. Dublin : M'Glashan and Gill.

on the previous night to state what were the intentions of the Government with regard to Ireland. That, he begged to remind hon. members, was no party question; he certainly introduced the subject without any party motive or party object. He was moved by no partisan feeling; nor did he expect that he should be met by any party opposition. He was sure that all parties would agree with him in feeling deep anxiety at the prospect of distress; and thus the House would come fairly to the consideration of the subject, without bias or prepossession. It was certain that there was a fearful prospect of a most calamitous season before the people of Ireland. The extent of that calamity had been disputed, and there had been a time when there was a prospect of some portion of it being possibly averted; but he believed that hope had now quite vanished. The calamity was pressing and imminent—more pressing, more imminent, and more fearful than that House was aware of. In order to understand it, it was right that the House should be made aware of the state of Ireland before the calamity had impended. That calamity, they should observe, was not one brought on by any fault of the Irish people. It was not a consequence of the sterility of the Irish soil. The country had enjoyed an abundant harvest. That calamity was a dispensation of Providence, and they should bow to the will of an all-dispensing Power, whilst they fulfilled the duties of charitable Christians, and endeavoured to mitigate the evils that might arise. But to enable them to relieve the distress, it would be necessary for the House to understand the previous state of Ireland; and he was sorry to have to state in the commencement, that, from the public documents, it appeared for several years past, the population of Ireland, instead of increasing, according to the rules of nature, and as in other countries, had been failing and wasting away. But the condition of the people, especially of the agricultural population, had been long described as ground down by famine and distress. All accounts agreed in describing them as in a state of actual starvation. Now, he did not propose to call upon the House

to believe any mere assertions of his. He had no intention of asking them to believe anything he did not prove by documents. He meant to show from documents of the most unquestionable character, the increasing misery of the Irish nation. The first document would be an abstract of the Population Returns for 1821, 1831, and 1841, by which the following facts were placed beyond a doubt.

Between 1821 and 1831, the population of Ireland increased nearly a million, viz., 965,570 souls; but between 1831 and 1841, the increase had only been about one-half that number, or 437,980 souls. Attempts had been made to account for this decrease by the increase of emigration; but the argument was unsatisfactory. Those who used it, gave no returns of emigration between 1821 and 1831, but confined themselves to the emigration between 1831 and 1841; there was no reason at all to imagine that the emigration was less between 1821 and 1831 than it had been between 1831 and 1841. This fact, therefore, stared him full in the face, that in ten years the population went back half-a-million; there was an increase of half-a-million fewer human beings in Ireland between 1831 and 1841 than there had been between 1821 and 1831. One of the topics in connection with the state of slavery in the West Indies, which made the strongest impression from the lips of Sir Fowell Buxton, was the circumstance that the black population had decreased; but his case was not so striking as that of Ireland. The next public document to which he begged leave to refer, was the Report of the Commissioners of Poor Law Inquiry in 1835; they had been appointed by the House to investigate the state of destitution in Ireland, and they distinctly stated that 2,300,000 of the agricultural population were in a constant state of destitution approaching to starvation. For several weeks in the year they lived on the charity of their neighbours. The last Population Returns of 1841 showed that, out of the whole rural population of Ireland, 46 per cent. lived in a single room; the entire human family and the pigs occupied the same apartment together. The fact was, that

of the civil population—that is, of the inhabitants of towns—36 per cent. lived in a single room, and that two or three families sometimes occupied the same room. Perhaps the most important document of all was the Report of Lord Devon's Commission; it had been directed to that noble lord and four others, and perhaps a better Commission was never formed by the hands of any Government. It was impossible to believe that they were deceived themselves, or that they meant to deceive others, and the following were the terms they used, warranted by the evidence they had taken, and their own observations:—

“That the agricultural labourers of Ireland suffer the greatest privations and hardships; that they depend upon precarious and casual employment for subsistence; that they are badly housed, badly fed, badly clothed, and badly paid for their labour; that it would be impossible to describe adequately the sufferings and privations which the cottiers and labourers and their families in most parts of the country endure; that in many districts their only food is the potato, their only beverage water; that their cabins are seldom protection against the weather; that a bed or blanket is a rare luxury; and that nearly in all, their pigs and their manure heap constitute their only property; that a large proportion of the entire population comes within the designation of agricultural labourers, and endure sufferings greater than the people of any other country in Europe have to sustain.”

Hon. members would recollect that these were not the assertions of demagogues, or even of persons interested in reporting exaggerated scenes of misery; they were the distinct and emphatic statements of men above all suspicion, and beyond belief that they could have been imposed upon. The rural population in the last census was calculated at seven millions, and five millions of these were in the condition described in the Report of the Earl of Devon's Commission. It was a Report made forty-five years after the Union with England—after the Union with the richest and most industrious country on the face of the earth; and what did the Commissioners say but that the agricultural population of Ireland was badly fed, badly clothed, and badly housed—that their food was potatoes, their drink

water, and that they endured greater privations than the peasantry of any other country of Europe. He would appeal to hon. gentlemen who listened to him, whether this was not a frightful state of society. They must remember that the Irish did not govern themselves, that there was no Irish Parliament, and that after a government by England of forty-five years' duration, this was the result. He would not enter into all the topics this part of the question presented: he would only put it distinctly to those who heard him, that they were responsible for the present condition of Ireland. If England could not govern her, she ought to abdicate; but if she continued to attempt it, she was bound to rescue the people of Ireland from their present misery. This Report, too, was not made in a year of calamity, a year of famine, but in 1844, when the harvest was abundant, and comparatively little distress was known in Ireland; it was made at a period of comparative comfort, if he might use the expression, of comparative freedom from calamity. It might be said that it was the fault of the Irish people; but Lord Devon's Report did not say so. The Commissioners had reported two points: the first was, that "the patient endurance which the labourers exhibit is deserving of high commendation of Government and Parliament." The Irish people were, therefore, not to blame for their misery, and the Commissioners called upon the Government and the Parliament to give their best attention to their condition, with some confidence that the call would be responded to. Another matter of commendation on the part of the Commissioners, was the habits of temperance of the Irish peasantry.

"Up to this period (they said) any improvement that may have taken place is attributable almost entirely to the habits of temperance in which they have so generally persevered, and not, we grieve to say, to any increased demand for their labour."

In addressing himself, therefore, to the present distressed state of the inhabitants, he carried with him the hope that he had impressed upon the House the real claims of the sufferers.

What had they to fall back upon at this moment? Potatoes were their only food—their only drink, water; and they had neither bed nor blanket to cover them from the cold. It was singular enough that they were threatened now with this calamity; it was not to be attributed to the population—to any refusal to labour and cultivate the soil. He had two Parliamentary documents before him to show how unfounded was any charge of that kind. The first was this:—

“An account of the quantities of wheat, barley, oats, flour, and oatmeal imported into Great Britain, from Ireland, in the years 1842, 1843, 1844, and 1845, distinguishing the quantities in each year.

CORN OF IRISH GROWTH,
Imported into Great Britain from Ireland.

Years.	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Wheatmeal, or Flour.	Oatmeal.
	Quarters.	Quarters.	Quarters.	Owts.	Owts.
1842	112,195	50,287	1,274,326	814,311	1,551,172
1843	192,477	110,449	1,561,997	773,463	1,706,682
1844	200,276	90,656	1,509,870	839,567	1,150,976
1845	372,719	93,095	1,679,958	1,422,379	1,059,185

That Return gave this result; that 2,145,772 quarters of grain were imported from Ireland into England, and 2,481,564 cwts. of flour meal; showing that there was an abundant crop in Ireland last year; that while her people were starving she produced a larger quantity of grain and meal for the consumption of England. The second Parliamentary document he had to refer to, was—

“An account of all cattle, sheep, and swine, imported into Great Britain from Ireland, from the 10th day of October, 1845, to the 5th day of January, 1846. Oxen, bulls, and cows, 32,883; calves, 583; sheep and lambs, 32,576; swine, 104,141.”

These two documents proved an anomalous state of society to exist in Ireland; for while the country produced such abundance the inhabitants were starving. So blessed was she by

Providence; so cursed by man! Others might account for it as they could; but the fact was indisputable, that the best state of society there was the worst in other parts of the globe. Having shown what Ireland was, even in the best times, he would now advert to the extent and formidable nature of the calamity by which she was now visited. The documents he should first employ for this purpose were such as had been furnished by Government; and with some of them hon. gentlemen must be familiar; to them the reading might seem tedious; but it was his duty to lay the case of Ireland, in the fullest manner, before the House; and on this account he trusted he should be excused if he offered a few known details. The subsequent passage was contained in the Report of Messrs. Lindley and Playfair, dated November 15, 1845:—

“During our stay in Ireland, we carefully examined such Official Papers as were transmitted to us from the Castle; we consulted persons acquainted with the facts of the disease; we visited the district lying between Dublin and Drogheda, and inspected various potato fields and stores in the counties of Dublin, Louth, Meath, Westmeath, and part of Kildare. Judging from the evidence thus collected, and from what we have seen of the progress of the disease in England, we can come to no other conclusion than that one-half of the potato-crop of Ireland is either destroyed or remains unfit for the food of man. We, moreover, feel it our duty to apprise you, that we fear this to be a low estimate.”

The next extract he would read was from the Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry at Dublin Castle; and the House would observe that it was a remarkable paragraph:—

“It appears from undoubted authority, that of thirty-two counties in Ireland, not one has escaped failure in the potato crop; of 130 Poor Law Unions, not one is exempt; of 2,058 electoral divisions, above 1,400 are certainly reported as having suffered; and we have no certainty, until the receipt of the more minute returns, now in the progress of completion, that the remaining 600 have altogether escaped.”

That Commission had corresponded with nearly all the local authorities in Ireland; and the following was the con-

clusion at which it had arrived, after having written 362 letters to obtain correct information :—

PROPORTION OF POTATO CROP LAST YEAR.

Provinces.	All.	Nine-tenths.	Four-eighths.	Five-fourths.	Two-thirds.	Halves.	One-third.	One-fourth.	One-fifth.	One-seventh.	One-eighth.	One-tenth.	Total.
Ulster, ...	6	1	8	15	37	133	32	6	...	...	6	...	239
Munster, ...	...	...	1	9	13	88	16	4	1	...	1	...	133
Leinster, ...	...	4	1	28	41	97	9	2	1	1	...	...	184
Connaught,	...	...	1	8	12	49	6	4	...	...	1	...	81

A more authentic document could not be produced ; and the accuracy of its details might, therefore, be fully relied upon. Sir Lucius O'Brien, at first, had been difficult to be persuaded of the extent of the disease in the potatoes ; but he had subsequently waited on the Lord Lieutenant, and had admitted that he had been mistaken, and that it prevailed to the excess that had been stated. He need not remind the House of the documents read by the right hon. baronet in his speech last night. Hon. members would be convinced how fully, deeply, and entirely they corroborated the representation he had given upon the subject, without any point of mitigation ; misery, poverty, famine, and disease were the features belonging to the present wretched state of Ireland. A committee, called the Mansion House Committee, had been appointed in Dublin, and the utmost care had been taken to collect accurate information. Between the 10th December and 26th January, they issued 923 letters, and had received 523 answers ; viz., from Leinster, 141 letters ; from Ulster, 163 letters ; from Munster, 152 letters ; from Connaught, 67 letters, Of these there were—from ministers of the

Established Church, 216 letters; from Roman Catholic clergy, 195 letters; from Presbyterian ministers, 40 letters; from lieutenants and deputy ditto, 47 letters; from poor law boards, 25 letters. The following was the degree in which they represented that the potato crop had suffered, and was unfit for human food:—Under one-third, 110; one-third, 111; one-half, 148; over half, 84. Such was the synopsis of the letters and answers. At one period, when the potatoes were stored, and the calamity not immediately before the eyes of the people, they had hoped that it had passed the crisis: that appeared to be a mistake; but whether it were true or false that there was at one time a lull in the disease, it was now quite certain that it was making frightful progress again. He had now to trespass on the patience of the House while he brought under its view other documents, collected from various parts of Ireland, describing the state of the disease in different localities. Unless the occasion were grave and pressing, he should not have felt justified in taking this course; but some of the leading journals within the last ten days had asserted positively that the disease had ceased, and that there was no danger of a want of provision. He did not accuse the writers of party motives, but of having been easily deluded, and willing to delude others. The conviction that the disease was most destructive was not merely local; it was not confined to a particular district, but from one end of the country to the other the cry was echoed of coming famine. Upon this part of his case he would trouble the House with the subsequent extract of a letter from Tralee, dated the 2nd instant:—

“Potatoes, I regret to say, from the progress of the rot, advanced a third; and this, as I stated a few days past, at a period when the rate of remuneration for agricultural labourers is 2½d. per day, and diet a few wet lumpers. This is low enough, but the tradesmen in this town are not earning that same. The inevitable consequence of this is already manifesting itself. Fever is on the increase both here and in Killarney, and unless the most vigorous efforts are made to facilitate public works, and employ those able and willing to exchange their labour for the means of purchasing commodities of human consumption, the pestilence of 1871, also the result of scarcity, will bear no

proportion to what is likely to ensue shortly. In that year disease did not appear until the approach of summer; then the poor creatures lay in dozens in the market-house of Killarney, and in other dilapidated ruins with which that neglected town abounds for a long time past."

The Londonderry Agricultural Report for January contained the following statement :—

"The wheat plants have made great progress during the month, and have a very healthy appearance, and the grass fields are as forward in their look as we often observe in March. We are sorry to observe so many of the potatoes, which were confidently relied upon for seed, giving way before the disease. Now, after having been subjected to pitting and housing, great quantities of them are found to be rotten; nor are those still in the ground much better, for although apparently sound, a few days after being dry they assume a very different aspect. We still fear the consequences at seed time. Many were disposed to try autumn or winter planting; but the weather has been very untoward for that purpose, and those who tried it report unfavourably of it, the excessive moisture having destroyed the seed."

A respectable farmer in the county of Wexford wrote thus :—

"I said in my last that the apple potatoes that were not rotted might be used for food. Our apples were as dry as possible when we pitted them, and we kept them dry by our manner of covering them. We thought we might have some for summer, but we find they are scarcely fit for cattle now, and more than half of them are completely in pulp. We cannot use any apple potatoes this year, and this is a general complaint here. The cups are not very much lost, but there are ten times more of them rotten than when I wrote last."

The Rev. J. Fitzpatrick, of Castletownroche, county Cork, on the part of a meeting held there, addressed circulars to all the landlords possessing property in the district, containing a minute description of the state of the population. The result was :—

"More than half the potato crop is unfit for human food, and the disease is progressing. More than half the labourers are unemployed, and are likely to continue so for the next three months, and during the months of July and August, as the farmers will not have money or food to give them."

He would now advert to the centre of the country and to

the state of the disease there. The first quotation he would make was from a letter from Nenagh, dated February 4:—

“We continue to receive the most distressing accounts of the fearful progress of the disease from various quarters. In the King’s County the complaints are universal. In this county the disease has gone on with amazing celerity within the last three weeks; many persons, on examining their pits, found their potatoes in some instances altogether useless—not even fit for pigs or cattle. In several districts the poor are pining in the utmost misery, but with unequalled fortitude and patience, hoping, even where there is nothing but religion to assuage their wretchedness. The heavy and constant rains of the last few weeks—raining almost without intermission—have done great injury; and the softness of the weather otherwise tends, in a great measure, to produce the fermentation of the potato which causes its destruction as an article of food. Landed proprietors should endeavour to aid themselves and the people at this tremendous crisis.”

The subsequent letter, from John F. Hodges, M.D., dated Downpatrick, 2nd February, referred to the condition of the counties of Down, Armagh, Antrim, and Monaghan:—

“During the month of January I had occasion to visit several districts in the counties of Down, Armagh, Antrim, and Monaghan, and I carefully inquired into the state of the potato crop. I found that, though there was considerable difference in the amount of loss in the districts examined, yet that everywhere, with a few trifling exceptions in some moory soils in the county Monaghan, the disease continued its destructive ravages, unchecked by any of the methods recommended to stop its progress; that in every description of pit—in the moist field and the dry loft—the potatoes were either, as the farmers expressed it, ‘melting away,’ or ‘shrivelling up with a dry rot.’ In some districts in Armagh, I was informed that the destruction was progressing with such terrible rapidity that, of potatoes raised, thrice picked, and stored up in pits as free from all taint, not more than one-third was found fit for use some days ago. In the neighbourhood of the city of Armagh the extent of the loss was represented as very great. In the neighbourhood of Markethill and Portadown the loss has also been very great, and will, I fear, be severely felt by the small farmers in that part of the country. In Monaghan I made particular inquiries from several farmers, among whom I may mention the name of Mr. Gowdy, one of the most intelligent agriculturists in the district in which he resides, and I found it to be the general persuasion, that fully two-thirds of the crop, at that time (6th of January), had been rendered unfit for food. Along the north-east coast again, in the neigh-

bourhood of Larne, the destruction has also been great ; and several Antrim farmers, whose names if required, can be supplied, have last week assured me that the stock of potatoes which they have at present on hand is not so large as they were in former years accustomed to have in the month of May."

The next document he had to offer presented a peculiar feature, well deserving notice. It was an extract of a letter from Tullamore :—

"A great many robberies are daily committed about the suburbs of Tullamore, from the great distress and poverty arising from want of employment, together with the scarcity of potatoes and the high price of provisions, the unfortunate people having no other remedy to keep them from starvation. Fever and sickness are on the increase, both in the town and country parts."

From the parish of Killard, in the county of Kildare, they wrote in these terms :—

"It contains sixty-six families, comprising three hundred and seventy-four individuals, having, out of their crop of ten hundred and ninety barrels of potatoes, but one hundred and six barrels fit for human food. That, in the townland of Doonbeg (same parish), there are forty-five families, comprising two hundred and seventy individuals, with but eighty-five barrels of good potatoes, out of a pit containing six hundred and sixty-six barrels. That, in the townland of Kilfiera (same parish), there are eighty-eight families, whose total produce of potatoes was fourteen hundred and fifty barrels, of which one hundred and eighty-seven barrels only were fit for human food. That, in the townlands of Dunmore and Doonbeg (same parish), there are twenty-nine families, or one hundred and twenty-seven individuals, whose total produce was three hundred and seventy-two barrels, of which there were but fifty-eight barrels fit for human use. That in the townland of Donoughboy at least three-fourths of the crop are lost."

On the want of food in the county of Galway they wrote as follows :—

"The question of famine is no longer one of surmise. Its certainty, in a few months at furthest, is even acknowledged by the Government ; and the reports which come in every day from the rural districts but too sadly confirm the conclusion which has been arrived at from the most carefully collected facts. Potatoes bear even now a famine price in the market. White potatoes go at 4½d. per stone, and cup potatoes 5d. We believe 10d. per stone, in times of the greatest famine, was the highest price for potatoes ever

known in Galway; and when we take into consideration that the potatoes now brought for sale to market are not only diseased to a great extent, but one-third of them completely waste to the purchaser in two or three days, the 4½d. per stone rises in real value to 9d. or 10d. When this is the case at present, what will it not be in a few weeks hence when the crop is more exhausted? At the price which potatoes are even only now, a labourer employed the whole week at 10d. per day (the usual price of labour in this district is often lower) has to lay out the entire of his week's wages on them alone, if he is even so fortunate as to be able to purchase with it a sufficient quantity of this lowest of human food. There is nothing for any other accompanying article of diet; nothing, unless the belly is stinted of this worst kind of food—nothing for fuel, rent, or clothing; nothing for milk or fish; meat is out of the question. If this is the case at present with the labourer in full employment, how must it fare with the unfortunate creatures who have it only occasionally, or fare with both when food becomes dearer, and is placed totally out of their reach? A troop of the 18th Light Dragoons, from Gort, arrived here on Tuesday, under the command of Captain Hamilton, for the purpose, it is said, of repressing any outbreak among the people which may arise owing to the exportation of corn from this port. Two companies of the 30th are likewise expected—one from Loughrea; the other from Oughterard—to aid the force in garrison, if necessary. The dragoons and additional military are expected to be stationed here for some time. This increase of troops is said to have been caused by the posting of a threatening notice last week, to the effect that the merchants' stores would be broken up by the people if any further exportation of corn was attempted. Her Majesty's steamer, the Stromboli, arrived at the port of Galway on Monday evening, and anchored at the roadstead."

It was not less remarkable than creditable, that not a single instance of riot or disturbance of the public peace, owing to the want of food, had yet occurred in any part of Ireland. To the preceding documents he might be allowed to add the following report from the board of guardians at Nenagh:—

"At the weekly meeting of the Nenagh board of guardians, on Thursday, 29th January, Sir T. B. Dancer said:—"I am sorry to say, at least of my own potatoes, that the disease is progressing; out of eight or nine acres of potatoes which were dug last week, I had four cartloads of them affected with the disease; and, within the last fortnight, nearly all my cups are failing, the one-third of them, at least. In this month and next, which are generally soft months, I am of opinion, that the great portion of the potatoes,

now apparently sound, will become rotten or diseased. I have also inquired amongst my workmen and tenants, and they all bore the same testimony; and to show you as a proof of what I have stated, that when I lately found the disease so prevalent among my tenants' potatoes, I offered them 10 per cent. allowance.'

"Mr. Michael Meagher—"I am bound to tell you this, that for the last three days I had been in Borrisoleigh; it is strange to say, that it is not the black potatoes are going but the white and sound ones, which were heretofore not diseased or affected with the regular rot.'

"Mr. John Kennedy—"It is a general complaint, that it is the sound potatoes that are failing under the malady, and not the black ones.'

"Sir Thomas Dancer—"What do you call "black ones?"' 'The previously diseased potatoes?'

"Mr. Hayes—"There is no doubt but the disease is every day becoming more prevalent.'

"Chairman—"I am afraid that the opinions of the guardians are unanimous on that subject, but, as far as I am concerned myself, I can say to the contrary.'

At Tralee poor-law union, a meeting had been held on the 3rd instant, to present a memorial to the Lord Lieutenant, and the following was a report of what passed on that occasion:—

"Mr. Trant, introducing his motion, that a committee be appointed to draw up a memorial to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, on the subject of the expected famine, regretted to say that there was even then more reason for the board carrying out his motion than when he had given notice of it, for he could assure them that the disease was rapidly extending in his district.

"Mr. Foran, the poor-rate collector for the barony of Corkaguinny, said he was sorry to be obliged to acquaint them that in some parishes in his barony, one-half of the crop was lost. Potatoes were unusually high in price, too, at one side of Dingle; the minions were 12s. a peck (32 stone). The disease was, in his opinion, decidedly on the increase.

"Mr. Quinlan thought that out of two farms of his he would not have a sound potato on May day. The spread of the disease was frightful.

"Mr. Rae was sorry to be obliged to corroborate what had been said about the spread of the epidemic; and, to make the matter still worse, the late high tides had washed away a quantity of the potatoes of the poor people in his neighbourhood, the parish of Keel.

"Captain Chute, Mr. Gorham, and other guardians, bore testimony to the spread of the disease.

"Colonel Stokes could state from personal knowledge, that labourers in the vicinity of the Spa were now purchasing potatoes in the market, not having any of their own. Lumper potatoes were selling at 24s. per peck. At the rate potatoes were selling on Saturday last, potatoes sufficient to support the family of a labouring man for a week, would cost 6s. 2d. more than the entire week's wages of most labourers in employment. He might, in the present season, safely say that two-thirds of the labourers were unemployed. He had paid 12s. a peck for diseased potatoes to feed cattle, in the market, last week, and good lumpers were 24s., and minions 32s. a peck. In conclusion, he urged on the board the necessity of representing to Government that they were willing that a tax should be levied on the properties of gentlemen, both resident and absentee, to provide food for the poorer classes, in the event of a famine.

"Mr. Trant's motion was seconded by Colonel Stokes, and passed, and a committee was appointed."

At Youghal, a public meeting had been held on the 11th instant, and what passed was contained in the following report of the proceedings:—

"The Rev. Mr. Smiddy said—'Mr. Chairman, as I am in possession of certain documents connected with the state of distress, I shall occupy your attention while making a few observations on the subject. A short time since, by order of the Poor Law Commissioners, in Dublin, inquiries were made in several parts of the union as to the state of the potato crop, the result of which was forwarded to the Poor Law Commissioners. This was set on foot here, and inquiries were very accurately and minutely instituted, and the result of that is to convince every person that something must be done, in order to provide for the approaching season of want and scarcity. By this arrangement, we had parties appointed in several districts of the country, to inquire what supply of potatoes remained on hand, and what amount of labour or employment was available for the people; the result is that, in the country parts of this parish, the farmers have only a supply sufficient for their own consumption, with the exception of two or three farmers, one of whom would be able to send twenty barrels to market in case the present supply remains free from disease, and that farmer is from the neighbourhood of Windgap. We have procured accurate information in reference to those persons who are objects of destitution. With regard to the labouring population, many of them are already obliged to live on the diseased potatoes, and the large body have only a supply which they expect will not last longer than two months (*sensation*). That is the state of the potato crop in the country, and the amount of employment is very small indeed. Some of them, it has been

ascertained, have only employment for nine months of the year, while others are only employed for five or six months during that period. The state of things in the towns is even still worse. We all know that a general calamity has befallen the country with respect to the potato crop, and this misfortune must be more generally felt in large towns, as there is no supply of food there as in the country, to relieve or alleviate the lamentable visitation. Inquiries have been made in several lanes in this town, and I am confident this meeting will be appalled and astonished at the result of the investigation.' The Rev. Mr. Smiddy here read an abstract of the condition of the inhabitants of lanes in Youghal who lived by manual labour, showing the number of families and individuals, and the portion of the year, up to six months, to which the employment of more than a moiety is limited. From this return it appeared—

	Families.	Persons.
That there are living in lanes,	908	4,579
Living on charity,	88	356
Employed only three months, and less,	56	235
Ditto four months,	72	253
Ditto five months,	95	453
Ditto six months,	228	1,245
	539	2,542

So that 539 families out of the 908, and 2,542 individuals out of the 4,579, are limited in employment, all to six months; many of them to three and four months of the year, and the wages in many instances so low as scarcely to give them subsistence, even for the time they are employed. This (continued the rev. gentleman) is a problem for the political economist, and a subject of serious reflection for all who are interested, not alone in the welfare, but in the actual existence of their fellow-creatures. And such being the state of the distress, such being the amount of destitution, it is evident that something must be done, and done immediately, to remedy the awful circumstances of the people.

"Mr. Lomaseny, though a resident in the town for thirty-six years, had no idea of the destitution which he saw in Donovan's-lane; in that place there were six individuals living upon a floor ten feet square; there was not as much straw for them to lie upon as would be allowed a favourite dog; the covering at night consisted of the remnant of one blanket, with clothes which they wore during the day! In other places similar sights were to be seen; similar, and perhaps if possible, more frightful poverty was to be witnessed."

There was no distinct specification of the sufferings of the poor in towns and cities; but, according to the Report of Lord

Devon, they were most afflicting. He would trouble the House with one more letter; it was from Lord Cloncurry, and was in the following form, addressed to the editor of the *Dublin Evening Post* :—

“ February 9th, 1846.

“ MY DEAR SIR,—I think it right to mention to you that I planted some potatoes last November in lazy beds, the soil rich, maiden, and dry; the seeds of the best kinds, mostly cut, but some whole; the kinds, purple kidneys and pinkeyes. On examining them last week, I find one-third decayed, after making shoots. This is bad news; but it is better to give timely information. It was for this purpose I gave my time to the Mansion House Committee, the members of which appeared to me to have no other object in view but the service of their fellow-creatures. I believe the statement contained in several hundred letters directed to me, contained more true and early information than all the costly Reports and Commissions of the Government. I believe if some of the measures we recommended were adopted, they would have afforded a cheaper and more effectual relief than any suggested by salaried advisers. There is in the country at this moment corn more than enough to feed our entire population; by establishing stores or granaries for the poorhouses and other places, into which the farmers could send their corn, receiving in return a note as to the quantity, it would prevent the great loss which takes place every year by want of proper corn-stands or barns through the country; it would be at hand if wanted, and if not, it could be sold in May or June at probably an advanced price, which would pay all expense. I have advocated the establishment of public granaries for many years, from a knowledge of their great utility in many parts of the continent; and in no country would they be so beneficial as in Ireland, where almost all the farming classes are unprovided with the necessary corn-stands and stores. It would have been much more becoming of the Government to listen to the advice of the Mansion House Committee, and to profit by the information they could have given gratis, than to desire their understrappers and officials to deny the existence of the danger, and to insist upon it that our accounts were exaggerated, and more political than patriotic.—Dear sir, your humble servant,

“ CLONCURRY.”

Reluctant as he (Mr. O'Connell) was to continue the dulness necessarily produced by the perusal of a succession of documents, he felt that this was a matter of too much importance not to require the fullest information. He wished the House to understand that scarcity in Ireland had always been attended

with typhus fever: no matter what change of air might be procured, the disease did not seem affected by the atmosphere: but it always ceased when food became abundant. Thus cause, effect, and cure were obvious. The cause was want of due nourishment; the effect, typhus fever; and the cure, a supply of the necessaries of life. He would furnish four or five instances of famine in Ireland, showing that fever ceased when the period of harvest arrived:—

“1734—Summer wet, autumn variable, winter mild; harvest bad, much straw and little grain.

“1735—Summer again cold and wet, autumn wet, winter open; fruits and grains very backward.

“1736—One of the hottest summers remembered, autumn fair, winter open. Pestilential fever appeared in winter of 1734, continued through 1735, became very frequent and fatal through summer of 1736—and disappeared in autumn of the same year, which brought a most abundant harvest.

“1740—Spring dry and cold, summer dry, autumn unusually frosty, winter frosty. Great dearth of provisions this autumn (1740) which proceeded almost to a famine in winter, the potatoes having failed, while other provisions bore double or treble their usual price. Fever appeared in summer of 1740, increased in autumn, and rose to a terrible degree of violence in spring and summer of 1741. 80,000 persons died of fever and dysentery in this epidemic. The fever which had begun last autumn returned in spring, and raged through the summer of 1741. It was computed that one-fifth of the inhabitants died, though probably with exaggeration.

“1741—Spring dry, summer dry, autumn variable, winter frosty. Plenty of good corn in autumn of 1741, fruits of the year duly matured, winter concluded healthy, and the bills of mortality sunk conspicuously.

“1742—Spring dry, summer hot, autumn variable, winter stormy and frosty. Provisions most plentiful; bread sold at twenty-one pounds six ounces for a shilling.

“1743—The summer and autumn were remarkable for health, as well as for fertility and plenty in large crops of corn of all sorts; and we had scarce any disease then or in winter, except cold and sore throat from which we are seldom exempted.”

The next period to which he would refer was the year 1798. The hon. and learned gentleman then read as follows:—

“In 1798 summer and autumn wet, crops scanty, fuel scarce. Gentry flying out of the country, poor out of employment, tillage neglected, conse-

quent starvation. Fever prevalent in the spring of 1798, spread in the end of summer to a frightful extent. In 1799 summer wet and cold; general deficiency in crops. Fever now assumed a most malignant type. In 1800, summer unusually hot, and dry, but followed, like the previous wet summer, with deficient wet crops; the crops, moreover, of very bad quality; the people in a state of starvation. Malignant fever continued from 1799. In 1801 most abundant harvest; fever began to decline, and disappeared in the summer of 1802."

He now came to 1817; the following were the characteristics of the period:—

"In 1817, crops of the preceding year very deficient, did not arrive at maturity; corn was uncut in November; much of it lost; corn saved was green in the husk or matted; potatoes scanty, wet, unripe; no straw even for the beds of the poor; turf also deficient. This deficiency of food, fuel, and bedding, was felt most seriously in winter and spring of 1816-17, when fever appeared, which became very prevalent in summer of 1817. Spring and summer wet, cold and unproductive as the preceding year. In 1818, spring moist, summer unusually hot, crops good, provisions in abundance. The epidemic which had arisen in spring of 1817, continued to increase at a rapid rate through summer, winter, spring, and summer again, until the autumn of 1818, which brought with it a most abundant supply of food, fuel, and straw for bedding. Fever at the very same time began to decline, and soon after disappeared. One million and a half of the population suffered from fever in this epidemic. In 1826, potato crop of the preceding year (1825) very deficient. The weavers in Dublin were, by a sudden reverse of trade, thrown out of employment to the number of 20,000. Fever appeared rising rapidly in the spring of 1826, reached a terrific height in the autumn and winter following, declined in summer of 1827, and disappeared in autumn. The autumn of 1827 produced an almost unparalleled abundance of crops."

There was one other calamity connected with scarcity which had been observed and commented upon by a medical gentleman in Dublin—one of the very first in his profession—he meant Dr. Corrigan. The following were his remarks:—

"I cannot conclude without noting a warning circumstance that has had some influence with me in bringing out these observations at the present time. It has been remarked by all the observers of epidemic fevers in Ireland—by Rogers, O'Connell, Beatty, Barker, and Cheyne—that smallpox and bad fevers, which ravaged England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,

have been observed by medical writers. Sydenham has gone so far as to say that, from their intimate connection, he doubts that the plague and smallpox may not be of the same nature, only with different forms of development. It seems as if the human constitution, under influences which have acted injuriously on vegetable organization or have predisposed to epidemic fever, had lost so much of its energy as to render it less able to resist infection. Smallpox has been of late very prevalent in Ireland. I subjoin a table of the admissions and deaths from it in the Hardwicke Hospital for the last four years:—

		Total Number of Admissions.	Number of Smallpox Cases.		
			Admitted.	Cured.	Died.
1842	..	1,553	22	17	5
1843	..	1,551	18	14	4
1844	..	1,769	5	5	0
1845	..	2,413	86	71	15

“ This visitation should put us on our guard. It may have come to us as a warning. With our previous experience we should not neglect it. We know the danger that threatens us. We may combat it, should it come, but we can do more: we can prevent its attack. If there be no famines there will be no fever; and if active and timely exertion be made to afford sufficient employment and wages to our people I believe there will be neither famine nor fever.”

The hon. and learned gentleman continued—I have shown you our distress. I have shown that there are no agricultural labourers, no peasantry in Europe so badly off, suffering such privation, as the great body of the Irish people. In no part of Europe, I repeat, is there such suffering as in Ireland. There there are five millions of people always on the verge of starvation. I have shown you from Government documents—from an enormous load of documents, taken from, and referring to, all parts of Ireland, that its people are threatened—that they are in the utmost danger of a fearful famine, with all its concomitant horrors. I may be asked what I propose? I answer, that I call upon all the members of this House to join in the most energetic measures to stop the impending calamity. You cannot be too speedy; you cannot be too extensive in your remedies. It may be said that I am here to ask money to succour Ireland in her distress. No such thing. I scorn the thought.

I am here to say Ireland has resources of her own. You have a revenue from the woods and forests of Ireland. You spent £74,000 within the last few years on Trafalgar-square. Let that revenue represent a capital of a million or a million and a-half. Why, then, borrow on the credit of that fund. You may borrow a million and have a sinking fund. You may do more—you may borrow money on the rents of the Irish landlords. Borrow money, I say, and bring in an income tax, charging the absentee landlords twenty per cent. and the resident landlords ten per cent. The object is to protect the labouring population from an impending calamity. They are even now surrounded by disease and death in their most horrid forms. And it is fitting that we should make the landlords contribute in such a way as shall be effectual. You may tell me of the Poor Laws. My opinion is that Poor Laws may mitigate distress in ordinary seasons, but will not meet a famine. The workhouses would make very good hospitals for the sick. That fever prevails in Cork, Tralee, and Killarney I have proved to you; it has raged to a frightful extent in Limerick; the number of patients in the infirmaries has increased; the lanes of Dublin are full of fever. You are not to be guided in such a case as this by ordinary rules. It is a case beyond every rule. The people are not to blame. It has pleased Providence to inflict this calamity upon them; it is your business to mitigate that calamity as much as possible. There are the railroads, for example. Why do you not take strong measures with railroads? I should be happy to see the Government authorised to act in reference to these. I should wish to see this House and the other support the Government in that course. I will dispense with the rules and regulations that fancy railway schemes brought before Parliament. Famine is coming on—fever is coming on. This House ought to place in the Queen's Government powers adequate to such an exigency, so that it may have the means of giving the most extensive employment. As to contending lines, I do not know but the Government would decide better; for I don't know a worse tribunal than this

House. I found myself yesterday voting on a railway question without exactly knowing what I was doing; I cannot, therefore, blame others. But wherever £100,000 has been subscribed for a railway, the Government ought to have power to give another £100,000, by way of loan, so as to afford every facility for proceeding with the works, and to leave private individuals at liberty to apply the funds thus left for a time in their hands in such a manner as to give further employment. Lend the money to the railways at one per cent. or two per cent. I know how many objections may be started to such a plan; but I speak of a case which is superior in every objection. Great evils require great remedies; the remedy ought to be commensurate with the evil; and I am speaking from the depth of my conviction when I declare that in my conscience I believe the result of neglect on the part of this House in the present instance will be deaths to an enormous amount. On the grounds which I have stated, I request the appointment of a committee of the whole House, if for no other effect, at least for the purpose of convincing the Irish people that the calamities are not disregarded. I don't blame the Government for what they have done, and for what they propose to do. They have had my humble support. I have not been peddling for objections to their measures. I am prepared to give an honest support to any plans which the Government may bring forward for the purpose of mitigating the effects of the scarcity. Yet those which have been propounded are miserable trifles; they would do for ordinary times and for an ordinary scarcity; but they will not answer when death is abroad. The details into which I felt it my duty to enter have made my statement necessarily a dry one; and, for the extreme patience with which I have been heard, I beg to express to the House my own thanks and the thanks of the Irish people. The hon. and learned gentleman concluded by proposing his motion.

*Subject, ROMAN CATHOLIC RELIEF BILL;**Date, MARCH 11, 1846.*

Even now, when O'Connell's gigantic strength had begun to fail, he was at his post and as ready to defend his faith as he had ever been to plead for his country. His son, Mr. John O'Connell, rose afterwards and briefly stated that he had been educated at Clongowes College by the Jesuits, "and that he had never heard a word or sentiment from them that was unworthy of a Christian, an enlightened gentleman, and a loyal subject." But it was little use to protest or explain to men who were predetermined to uphold a certain thing with an utter and illogical disregard of any foundation for it. Mr. Newdegate followed, and made the very intelligent observation that "in order to form a correct estimate of the principles of the Jesuits, the House ought to know something of their specific acts, of their members, and where they existed." It might be supposed that gentlemen who had been educated by the Jesuits would be most capable of giving such information, but as the only information they could give was favourable, and as that kind of information did not agree with the hon. gentleman's private theory, he could not accept it. If ignorance is preferred, and it seems to be only on such subjects that it is preferred, there is nothing more to be said.

Mr O'Connell—The noble lord seemed to have an impression on his mind unfavourable to the Jesuits. This was because he had not had the opportunity or inducement to consult or consider the history of that most illustrious order. He (Mr. O'Connell) had well considered it; and he was satisfied that there never existed a body of men who were greater benefactors to science and literature as well as to religion. That order had experienced injurious treatment even from some Catholics. He believed that their virtues were made crimes, and that the strict discipline which they enforced operated against them. He would challenge any man to give him time and date, and state any circumstance disgraceful to the character of the Jesuits, which he was not able to refute. No man could be admitted a Jesuit until after twelve years of religious exercise and study, and devoting five years to the instruction of youth. Then at the expiration he might or might not be admitted into the order. It could not be disputed that many of

the most distinguished men of science and literature belonged to this order, notwithstanding all that had been said against them. The authority of Pascal, although an elegant writer, was not of any great weight on this subject. This would be apparent to any one who would look into the facts of the case. His book turned merely on a crotchet. There was another person, however, who had recently made some atrocious attacks upon them. Michelet was not an author to be quoted as an authority either here or elsewhere. He was a writer of romances of the most atrocious nature against the Jesuits. How he succeeded in France was by drawing on his imagination instead of upon authorities. There was not one assertion of crime which he had alleged on the part of the Jesuits, which was not without foundation. The Jesuits were subject to the civil law, like other men; and if they were guilty of crimes, they could be punished. The truth was, that they had drawn persecution upon themselves in consequence of the purity of their lives. From which countries had they first been expelled and had suffered persecution? They had first been expelled from Portugal. He was sure that no one would say that that was a most pure and enlightened country. They had then been expelled from Spain. He was sure no one would rise and say that that was a pure and enlightened country. But, thank God! they had revived again, and had diffused themselves over the face of the earth. They had sent, within a very short time, not less than fifty missionaries to Corea, Cochin-China, Siam, and other places; and he had no doubt but that they would double the number next year. This was the first time that he had said anything in that House in favour of the Jesuits; but he had done so now because he regarded them as the greatest benefactors of science and literature.

Subject, PROTECTION OF LIFE—IRELAND; Date, APRIL 3, 1846.

This may be called O'Connell's last speech. The one which follows was but a cry for help for his afflicted country—a cry which was the death-wail of Ireland's noblest son.

On the 23rd of February, 1846, while famine was staring the whole nation in the face, a Bill was brought in for "the protection of life in Ireland." A foreigner reading the announcement would exclaim that the English nation were indeed pre-eminent for humanity, antecedents in Ireland and India notwithstanding. But this Bill was not to preserve the lives of the poor famine-stricken people, it was simply a Coercion Bill. A few murders had been committed in Ireland by the despairing people, who, seeing little hope of legal justice, took matters into their own hands, and were by so doing guilty of deadly crime. Such crimes were few indeed compared with the black mass of seething guilt in England; but Irish sins, however trivial, are visited with the severest retribution.

The Bill was passed with alacrity through the House of Lords; it came down to the Commons; but England's danger was Ireland's opportunity once more. The Corn Law question was of more importance, embracing as it did the fate of a cabinet. Ireland could be coerced any time; but it was not coerced just then. O'Connell defeated the measure, Peel went out, and Lord John Russell came in.

Mr. Disraeli has noted this as O'Connell's last speech, probably having overlooked his last speech, as it was short, and merely referred to the famine; possibly because he may have considered this as virtually O'Connell's last parliamentary declamation. But Mr. Disraeli has singularly misrepresented O'Connell. He says that this "remarkable address was an abnegation of the whole policy of O'Connell's cause;" and he gives this curious reason for his conclusion: It was because he "*proved* [the italics are our own] by a mass of authentic evidence, ranging over a long term of years, that Irish outrage was the consequence of physical misery, and that the social evils of that country could not be successfully encountered by political remedies."*

The process of induction in Mr. Disraeli's mind is vicious. The speech being here in evidence, it needs only a glance to see that the whole argument was to prove precisely the reverse. Irish "outrage" was indeed caused by social physical misery, but no man ever proved with such incontrovertible eloquence, that this physical misery was the direct result of the most grievous and inexcusable political misgovernment.

* "Life of Lord George Bentinck."

Mr. O'Connell said—In rising to propose an amendment to the motion of the right hon. baronet, I promise the House to be as brief as I possibly can; and if I should trespass upon its patience longer than my own inclination would dictate, I trust that the importance of the question will plead my excuse. The case on behalf of the promoters of the Bill, has been stated by the right hon. baronet in a manner which it is impossible should give dissatisfaction to any quarter. I will not say one word against that manner. I never heard a harsh measure more moderately proposed; and there is, I may say, for us, danger, even in moderation. The only attempts of the right hon. baronet at anything like the colouring of oratory was, when he attributed the crimes to causes out of which they have not arisen. I do not think he has shown in the slightest degree—he scarcely attempted to show—that the evils, such as they are, would be remedied by this measure; in fact, he only alluded to the Bill just to vindicate the severity of its provisions, by comparing it with former enactments. He did not show, or attempt to show, that this Bill would remedy the existing evils, or prevent the crimes with which we are unhappily menaced in Ireland. There were, however—shall I call them admissible?—statements made by the right hon. baronet that are highly consolatory. It is consolatory to know, on the authority of Government, that there is nothing political in the crimes charged against Ireland; above all, that there is nothing religious, or belonging to any sect of religion, in the crimes themselves; that they are really perpetrated against persons of every species of politics, against persons of each religion; that the Roman Catholic religion is no protection to Roman Catholics, and Protestantism no incentive against Protestants. It is confessed by her Majesty's Government, and it is an undoubted fact, that there is nothing in these outrages which partakes either of sectarianism or political bias. I will now proceed to notice other statements made by the right hon. baronet. He said distinctly that, out of thirty-two counties in Ireland, twenty-two are free from disturbance; there are five in which it is partial, and five

more where it prevails to a greater extent. Thus, no less than two-thirds of the entire country are perfectly free from any taint of the guilt belonging to others. Then, the right hon. baronet has clearly told us that, even in the counties actually disturbed, the great majority of the inhabitants have not participated in the disturbances. They are confined to a comparatively small minority, which is engaged more or less in outrages. Therefore, a Coercion Bill is utterly unnecessary, according to the confession of ministers, for the great body of the population of Ireland. There are, it seems, five counties requiring, as the right hon. baronet contends, harsh measures; only five counties, and in those the great majority of the inhabitants are free from guilt. Before I proceed farther, again let me remind the House—and I do it, I may say, in the presence of the press of England—that however they may assume that the disturbances have a political basis and a sectarian origin, the Government has declared and decided the contrary. I will now notice one or two of the particular cases alluded to by the right hon. baronet:—First, as to the case of the wife and husband in the county of Tyrone, I did not think it could have been mentioned as a proof that crime calling for this Bill existed in Ireland. The county of Tyrone is as quiet as any county in England, or as any district on the face of the globe. Crime, such as it was, was diminishing, and the horrible outrage referred to was one of those acts of delinquency which are sometimes committed in the best regulated and most civilised communities. It ought never to have been made one of the features justifying this measure. I am borne out most completely by evidence, when I speak of the tranquillity of Tyrone. Next, I will allude for a moment to the letter the right hon. baronet received from Mr. P. B. Ryan, “my faithful friend.” Of Mr. Ryan we shall hear more; but, I must at present read one passage from a local paper, which will serve to show the degree of veracity to be attributed to this worthy gentleman:—

“MR. P. B. RYAN.—We regret being under the unavoidable necessity of postponing the able and masterly reply of P. Fogarty, Esq., of Cabra Castle,

to an extraordinary letter which has recently been published, with the name of the above gentleman signed to it. Mr. Fogarty says, that 'the Thurles bench of magistrates should be appealed to in relation to Mr. P. B. Ryan's wonderful letter.' "

So we shall certainly have full information as to that gentleman's veracity. Before I enter into the subject more at large, I wish to recall the House to the fact of the unhappy assassination of Mr. Pierce Carrick. Now, I think it would be well that the House should distinctly understand that case—not as reflecting upon the character of the unhappy murdered man—not for the purpose of palliating in the slightest degree his murder. It is a crime that no man not fit to be a participator in the murder would attempt to justify, or even to palliate. I feel almost unwilling to go into the question of the causes of that murder, lest it should have the appearance—it could not have the reality—of palliating it; but it is necessary that the facts should be known by the House. We are appealing to you—we are appealing to the House; for the notice I give is a notice of appeal to the House to eradicate the causes of crime—and to enable you to do so, you must distinctly understand why it is that those wretches are tempted to commit—if they cannot be justified in committing—crimes of this description. Now, I have the local newspaper, which contains a paragraph relative to the conduct of Mr. Carrick. It states this—but it will be less tedious to the House that I should make this statement with reference to Mr. Carrick. Unhappily he was the agent of a young gentleman under age. He got the tenants to pay their rents by a promise that, as soon as the young gentleman came of age, 25 per cent. should be taken off their rents. The young gentleman came of age. Mr. Carrick did not call upon him to perform his promise; he sent out a valuer to value the lands; the tenants thought that a reduction of rent would follow the valuation; but the valuation was higher than the existing rent, and they were obliged to pay that high rent. And when they came to expostulate with the valuator, what did he say? He said he did not value

the lands at all; that he got a cut-and-dry valuation—that was the phrase he used—from Mr. Carrick, and he only made a return of that which was dictated to him. Mr. Carrick told the tenants they must take out leases; and when they came with their rent, the first thing he did was to stop £10 from each tenant for the expense of a lease. They paid £10 each. They were obliged to go home to collect money to make up the deficiency in the rent; but from that day to the day of his death they never got a single lease. If he had lived one week longer, he would have got an *habere*, and turned out thirty-one families. And here, again, let me solemnly protest—I am sure I need not—that I do not consider any of these acts as an excuse, or a reason, or even as the slightest palliation of his murder. No, they are not; it was a horrible murder—it was an atrocious murder—it was a crime that is deserving of the severest punishment that man can inflict, and which causes the red arm of God's vengeance to be suspended over the murderer. I want the House to prevent the recurrence of such murders.

You are going to enact a Coercion Bill against them also, when they attempt to commit those abuses of property. They have a legal right; but I say those abuses of property are really the stimulants to the worst of crimes. Now, the amendment I mean to propose is this:—

“That while this House deplores the existence of outrage in Ireland, and is sincerely anxious for its repression, it is of opinion that such outrage will be aggravated, not removed, by the arbitrary, unjust, and unconstitutional enactments of this Bill; and that it is the duty of Parliament to adopt such measures as will tend to eradicate the causes which produce those crimes instead of resorting to laws which will harass and oppress the innocent without restraining the guilty, and which being restrictive of public liberty cannot fail to augment national discontent.”

Sir, my motion, the House perceives, is directed to remedy the evil complained of. It does not controvert the fact of the existence of crime which the Government has stated. There is

no doubt that atrocious murders have been committed—there is no doubt that the number of those murders is not diminishing.

The question is, what is the proper method of preventing the recurrence of these crimes? If I thought that would be effected by this Bill, there is not a man in this House that would vote for it more readily than I would. But I solemnly declare that my opposition to it is founded upon this—that I am convinced the words of this resolution are true; and that this Bill, instead of leading to the amelioration of crime, will augment it, and increase the number of the victims. Now, look just at the Bill for one moment, and you will find that it is calculated, take it at the best, to inflict a penalty of a most grievous nature upon many innocent persons, with the chance of reaching a few guilty. It certainly will inflict a penalty upon many innocent persons, in the expectation of reaching a few of the guilty; and even that is an expectation which is not likely to be realised by this process. Now, I shall call the attention of the House to the clauses of this Bill itself. You should understand distinctly what it is the Bill contains, and how little applicable it is to the suppression of crime. The right hon. baronet did not distinctly state the clauses of the Bill in proposing it. He merely alleged former Bills of this kind, and, amongst other things, he attempted to show that I had formerly assented to this penal clause, for which purpose he quoted Hansard. Now, sir, I am as ready as any man to have any clause introduced, which, without violating constitutional principle, will have the slightest tendency to repress crime of any kind. The first provision of this Bill is to give to the Lord Lieutenant arbitrary power. It gives him the power at his will and pleasure, without assigning a reason, without the necessity of proof of any form, to proclaim any part of Ireland he pleases. The allegation that the proclamation is necessary may be unfounded in fact, and, therefore, the proclamation equally unfounded—utterly unfounded in fact; but no contradiction of the allega-

tion can be received, for there is a clause in the Bill by which the proclamation itself is declared to be conclusive evidence of the fact ; so that the *sic volo sic jubeo* of the Lord Lieutenant is quite enough to authorise the issuing of the proclamation, though the Bill, to be sure, says that he must have some pretext for so doing—that there shall be some disturbance in the district. The Lord Lieutenant can also add an adjacent district to a district so proclaimed ; for instance, if the county of Monaghan were proclaimed, the county of Tyrone, or any part of that county, can be proclaimed by reason of the disturbances in the county of Monaghan, and the *habeas corpus* will no longer be of any value in any such proclaimed district.

The most unlimited powers are then given to the Lord Lieutenant to charge any of those districts with any sum of money he pleases. There is no limit to it but the possibility of its being paid. He can give any sum of money by way of recompense or compensation to any person that is injured. I do not so much complain of that—the grand jurors have something of a similar power—but what I do complain of is, that by this enactment the power given to the Lord Lieutenant is unlimited. There is no control over him, as in the case of the grand juries, whose presentments may be traversed, and who, having themselves to pay part of the money, would be cautious not to give too much to any suffering person. But the Lord Lieutenant has no limit to his power ; he can give any sum he pleases, and there is no traversing his presentment or controlling it. In the next place, he can give a reward to any person he pleases. In short, he has the most unlimited power to reward that it is possible to give. He has next the power of appointing as many stipendiary magistrates as he pleases. He has the power of appointing inspectors of police, and chiefs of police, and sub-constables, and officers, and privates of police, as he thinks fit. Uncontrolled, unchecked, without any legal possibility of preventing it, he has those powers. He has the power of compensation to any extent—he has the power of giving rewards to any extent, and of appointing policemen and

officers of every description to any extent he chooses. The effect of that may not be easily understood in this country, but it is well known in Ireland. I am not accusing any Government; it is an accusation against human nature. Persons who are at all likely to get into the police have been known more than once to fabricate outrages, and represent the country to be in a state of disturbance to effect their own purposes. Now, let me tell the House how this money is to be levied. It is to be assessed by a person to be appointed by the Lord Lieutenant. No magistrate, no grand juror, no country gentlemen, or lawyer, or judge, has power to control it. The Lord Lieutenant appoints a person to levy the tax. He is limited only according to the poor rate, but is not limited by the poor rate. Any person having a holding under £4 yearly pays no poor rate, but he must pay the tax under this Bill. No person is so poor as to escape taxation under this Bill; but if a man be rich, he is secure from it, for the lessor is not to be liable at all. The lessor is quite free, the owner is free, the country gentleman is free for his domain; he will pay nothing for his domain; the wretched cottager, or the day labourer, when he gets a day's labour, must pay the tax, but the squire in the large mansion-house pays nothing. The justification of the right hon. baronet was, that the grand jury have the power of charging their counties by previous acts. Why, they have; but what is the precaution taken? No additional force of police could be sent into a county without a demand from the magistrates. The magistrates who were to assess for it were to make the demand; one-half of the money was paid by the Government, and the other half by the county; and it was levied through the grand jury, who were to present for it. They had an opportunity of investigating the account, and their personal and individual interests induce them to make it as little as they could. But by this Bill, no grand jury or magistrate can interfere: the whole is done at the will of the Lord Lieutenant, who appoints his taxmaster-general to go about and levy contributions. That tax falls upon the poor; and the rich man escapes, and

yet this is called a Bill to make life and property secure in Ireland. How is it to do that? The wretched man scarcely able to exist at present—poor as poor can be—scarcely able to pay his rent—will have, in addition, that enormous tax to pay. If he refuse to pay it, you can get a stipendiary to call out the army or the police to go and distrain and sell the goods by force, if necessary; you give an irresistible force for the levy being made with certainty; but what becomes of the man against whom the levy is made? Have you conciliated him—have you rendered him less liable to commit offences? Will it make him better disposed towards the noblemen and gentlemen who pay nothing? Nay, in what situation do you place him and his landlord? One of the greatest grievances of Ireland is the clearance system. See what an adjunct this measure will be to the clearance system. The landlord has additional powers to levy his rent—he has already too much; but in addition to that, the poor man is obliged to guard the rich man by the payment of taxation. He must give up possession of his holding whenever the remnant of his property is sold, and when he has no property, but is a starveling in the land. What security can you have against the wild madness of a wretch of that description? It is likewise an additional stimulant to clear the land; because a man must necessarily be a bad tenant when this additional burden is put upon him. When the landlord enters into possession, he has not this additional tax to pay, so that he derives an advantage from clearing it. In addition to other stimulants to clear it, he has the reward in anticipation of not having this tax to pay when he has cleared the land of his tenantry. The next thing I quarrel with is the power given by this Bill to arrest any person found in houses (not being inmates thereof or travellers) within the proclaimed district. It enacts that any person or persons found in any proclaimed district in any house of public resort, licensed or unlicensed, in which malt liquors or spirituous liquors are sold or consumed, or in any house, shop, or other place of public resort wherein tea, coffee, provisions, liquors, or refreshments of any sort are

sold or consumed, whether kept or retailed therein, or procured elsewhere (not being there for travellers), after one hour after sunset and before sunrise, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanour. I shall be glad to know what houses will escape? Why, even the consumption of water in a house will authorize them to break into such house, and into every room of that house. If the person authorised to enter a house be delayed an unreasonable time (he is to judge himself of what is an unreasonable time), he has power to break into the house. The rich man is safe, and liquors, and coffee, and tea may be consumed in his house; but no poor man's house will be, or can be, possibly secure one moment from being broken into. Is this, I ask, the way to make the people respect the law? Is this the way for them to look to the law for protection? This is an Education Bill—this is a new plan of coercion; but are they likely to be taught any great reverence for the law of the land, when they find armed policemen breaking into the rooms where their wives and daughters are lying, under the pretence of searching for some person not a regular inmate of it?

Now, let me remind the House that it stands admitted that, even in the distarbed counties, the majority of the people are free from taint, but they are not to be free from the tax. The entire majority must pay the tax in order to get at the guilty minority. We tax the poorest of the people in the hope of what? In the hope of educating them to detect persons who commit crime. Do you think you can ever succeed in that? What motive could they have? You want to intimidate them into exerting themselves to preserve the peace. On what principle are they to do that? It has been urged in support of this measure that there was an old Saxon law which rendered the vicinage liable for every person in it; but let it be recollected that at the time the owners were the principal men in the district; they were armed; they had the magistrates, the law, the sheriff, the power of the county with them; they had the legal authority to arrest every person; but what legal authority has the Irish peasant, what *posse comitatus* can he command?

The thing is unfounded in principle, and must be most mischievous in practice. I declare most solemnly I think it will be almost impossible to prevent an insurrection if this act be carried into effect. You may have a sanguinary warfare that can only end in ruin and destruction. The Irish people are unarmed, and in your power; they are weak, and you are strong. I would here observe that, on looking over the returns from the two glorious battles fought in India, I find a great number of names in the list exactly resembling the names of the cottagers who were dispossessed by Mrs. Gerrard. But to return to this Bill. I ask, do you hope to succeed in it? Oh, no, you can never hope to succeed in anything so unjust. Do not seek it, but make it the interest of the Irish people—their real interest—to keep the peace. They will let others live when they have the means of living. By this Act of Parliament every offence is made a misdemeanour, only though, in some instances, punishable by transportation. That is done designedly, of course. It is made a misdemeanour, and why? because there is no peremptory challenge allowed to a prisoner in cases of misdemeanour. If he were indicted for a felony, he is entitled to twenty challenges; but, though you punish him as a felon, you take away from him the privilege he would have if you indicted him as a felon. It is a curious fact in the history of the law, that in the reign, I believe, of Edward II., it was enacted, that no person prosecuting for the Crown should challenge a juror, except for cause, but the judges have allowed the Crown to set aside jurors; so that the Crown has, in fact, unlimited power of challenge in defiance of the Act of Parliament, of common sense, and of common justice. The next clause to which I will call the attention of the House, is that which makes being out of a dwelling-house at forbidden hours a transportable offence, unless the party proves himself to be innocent. It is said I assented to a similar clause that will be found in the Statute of 1835. I admit at once that I did assent to the Statute of 1835, and now let us see if it be a similar Statute. The present Statute is put in force at the discretion of the Lord Lieutenant, and the Statute of 1835

could not be put in force except by the presentment of a grand jury, finding the district to be disturbed, and which could be traversed, as all such presentments can be. By the Statute of 1835, the accusers were bound to prove the guilt of the accused; by this Statute, the accused is bound to prove his innocence. By the Statute of 1835, the punishment was fine and imprisonment; by this Statute, the punishment is transportation. It is quite fair in parliamentary warfare for the right hon. baronet to quote "Hansard," as the right hon. gentleman has had it so often quoted against himself; but "Hansard" ought to be quoted correctly, and it cannot be quoted against me in the triumphant manner it has been quoted against the right hon. baronet. To those who do not know me well—for to those who do it is quite unnecessary—I may be permitted to say that I have done more to prevent the perpetration of crime in Ireland than any man. When I was at the bar, and was called upon to act as counsel in defence of Whiteboys, I never on any occasion made use of one single expression in mitigation of such crime, nor did I ever entertain the idea of doing so. I can produce incontestable proof of this from the testimony of the Crown Solicitor who went the same circuit. I do not deny the existence of those crimes, but I do propose the proper means to put them down. It is curious enough that by the ninth clause for the punishment of those found out of their houses at night, it is enacted that they shall be guilty of misdemeanour, and this clause is much relied on; but is not crime committed by day as well as by night? Are not murders committed in the open day? And yet you propose to leave the day for the commission of crime, and to apply the Coercion Bill only to the night. Nothing afflicts me more than the title of the Bill: "An Act for the better protection of life, and to facilitate the apprehension and detection of persons guilty of certain offences in Ireland." Now, how will it protect life? No protection is afforded by it by day, but by increasing the constabulary force, which can be effected by the existing law. The Bill does nothing to meet the case; but will make

the people more discontented; its only effect will be to create a feeling of exasperation, and make them more intent on the commission of crime. What I call upon the House to do is to insist upon a strict investigation into the causes of these crimes, and then to eradicate them by the removal of those causes. It may be said that the Bill is in safe hands, and that abuses of its power will not be allowed. But let me give the House a few instances of cases of abuse under the powers of former Acts, by which a district was proclaimed, and of which the same assertion was made. I may observe, that as for attacks by night by gangs of armed men, the punishment of the law for such offences is very severe at present. If any man is found out armed at night in a disturbed district, he is adjudged to be guilty of a misdemeanour, and punished by fine, imprisonment, and whipping. This is not light punishment, for I have known instances under this Act where men have been nearly flogged to death. On former occasions I referred to the operation of similar Acts of Parliament to that now proposed. I will now refer to evidence on this subject. The following evidence will show that this is no idle apprehension. In the Lords' Report, 1842, page 259, William F. Tighe, Esq., county Kilkenny, says:—

“I spoke to several of the magistrates, requesting that they would omit, in their application for the Insurrection Act, the barony of Ida and the barony of Gowran, south of Thomastown.

“You were not aware of any disturbances at that time in the barony of Ida or the southern part of the barony of Gowran? I was not.

“Do you know on what grounds the magistrates recommended the proclamation of either? Several of the magistrates told me that if they did not proclaim it the disaffected would take refuge there. The answer I made to them was, ‘When they did so, and when it is disturbed, then, and not till then, apply to have it proclaimed.’ . . . I have since received a letter from my agent, in which he states that he has seen a notice posted in the town of Innistogue, by order of the magistrates, prohibiting all persons from being out after sunset, and particularly the fishermen. He further states that it is his intention to appear at the petty sessions of magistrates to request them to exempt the fishermen from that order; as, if they were prevented

from fishing at night, the principal means of support of their families would be taken away. He informs me that during the summer they can only fish at night on that part of the river (Nore)."

John Dunn, Esq., Queen's County, page 423, says :—

"I am particularly acquainted with that part of Kilkenny now under proclamation, adjoining the Queen's County.

"Had there been any disturbance in it at the time the Act was put into execution? Not in the barony of Innisfadden, adjoining the Queen's County. I am aware of none.

"Can you state on what ground it was the Insurrection Act was applied for as far as respects that barony, and the circumstances attending it? I understand that some few trees, some two or three, had been felled in the demesne of Lady Ormond, and I am not aware of any other transaction at all that could justify the application of such a measure."

Report of Committee of the House of Commons, 1825.
Major-General R. Bourke, J.P., Limerick County, asked,
p. 331 :—

"Do you recollect the introduction of the police in the county of Limerick under the Peace Preservation Bill? I do. There had been a county meeting held, at which it was resolved that the state of the county did not then require the introduction of the police; and shortly after that county meeting, at the spring assizes following, the grand jury applied to the Lord Lieutenant to place the county under the Peace Preservation Bill.

"And on that application, notwithstanding the decision of the county at large, the police were introduced? They were introduced.

"What description of persons were appointed to that police? Generally speaking, they were very unfit persons.

"Was the Insurrection Act enforced in those baronies which continued in a state of tranquillity? It was. There was a memorial sent up from the baronies of Clanwilliam, Ownebeg, and Croonagh, signed by nearly all the resident magistrates, by most of the proprietors, and by clergymen of both persuasions, stating the good order and tranquillity that had prevailed and was prevailing in the baronies, and how hard it would be to expose the occupiers of the land to a very heavy tax under the Peace Preservation Bill; but the answer received was, that it was in contemplation to send police to the whole county, and that the Lord Lieutenant saw no reason for excepting those baronies."

He begged the attention of the House (the hon. member

continued) to the fact that by Lord Stanley's Act the county of Kilkenny was proclaimed; and it was thought convenient to introduce that Act into the city of Kilkenny, where no disturbances or crimes contemplated by this Act had been committed. On an explanation of this, the answer was that it was for the convenience of the police that the Act should extend to the city of Kilkenny. So, then, for the sake of the police, the city of Kilkenny was proclaimed, and its inhabitants were exposed to all the severe enactments of this law, and this without any ground whatever. He wanted the House not to place such discretionary powers in the hands of any Government, for the bad use that had been made of them might be made again. It might be said that, in consequence of the commission of some horrid murders, this was an experiment which should be tried. If no Coercion Act had ever existed before he might listen to this suggestion; if the experiment had been tried on once and failed, he might be induced to try it again; even if it had failed a second and a third time there might be some reason in asking to try it once more; but they had had Coercion Acts seventeen times since the Union, and they had uniformly failed. Such are some of the blessings of the Union. Sometimes the Coercion Bill was divided into two parts; but the list which he was about to read gave an accurate statement on the subject. The hon. and learned gentleman read the following document:—

“1801, two Coercion Acts; 1802, July, two Acts; 1803, December, two Acts; 1805, February, one Act; 1807, August, two Acts; 1814, July, one Act; 1817, June, one Act; 1822, February, two Acts; 1823, March, one Act; 1831, October, one Act; 1833, April, one Act; August, one Act; total, seventeen different Acts. Observe, that the first of these Acts in 1801 was intitled, ‘An Act for the protection of his Majesty's subjects in Ireland.’ The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended from the Union until 1805, when the Whigs allowed it to revive. Suspended again from 1807 to 1810; again from 1814 to 1818; again from 1822 to 1828; again from 1829 to 1831; again from 1833 to 1835.”

By several of these Acts trial by jury was abolished; regarding insurrectionary crimes, a bench of magistrates, with a

King's counsel, were authorised to transport for any such offence. This was not a dead letter. Now, were all these instances to be regarded as experiments? Under these acts all the social guarantees were trampled under foot, trial by jury was suspended, and the powers of the magistracy were increased to a most alarming extent. But did this put a stop to crime? A lull might be created for a short time, but after it passed there was always an increase of crime. It appeared, then, that this was a process which they were called on to go on with.

The right hon. baronet (Sir James Graham) said that Lord Stanley's Bill had been carried into effect, and succeeded. Was this so? Lord Stanley's Bill was not acted upon. It originated in the disturbances respecting the collection of tithes. The Government had taken up the tithe campaign, and had filled the barrack-yards with the crops of the tenantry which had been distrained for tithes. The Bill passed, but what did the Government do? The first thing was to put an end to the tithe campaign. The distraints for tithes ceased, and the claims of the clergy were bought off, and thus the people were relieved from the payment of tithes. The Government agreed to advance £1,000,000 to pay off the arrears of tithes; and when it was proposed in that House, the right hon. baronet (Sir R. Peel) called it a vulgar expedient to settle the question. In addition to this, more than £18,000 costs, which had been incurred were forgiven or paid off. Then the Bill for changing the direct payment of tithes into a rent-charge passed, and the people were conciliated to a considerable extent by it. If it did not go so far as it ought, it at any rate showed a conciliatory disposition on the part of the Government. He trusted, therefore, that the right hon. baronet would not again impute the change that took place to Lord Stanley's Bill on the maxim *post hoc ergo propter hoc*. He was not disposed to speak harshly of the right hon. gentleman; on the contrary, his wish was to avoid anything of the kind. The first thing, however, the present Government did when they came into office was to adopt a change of system, and the right hon.

baronet declared that concession to Ireland had reached its limits. He did not now reproach the right hon. baronet for the use of the expression, for it had been withdrawn with great manliness. He did not blame him for inconsistency in changing his opinion. When such a change took place in opinion as happened with the right hon. baronet, it only showed that he was a wiser man to-day than he was yesterday. He would do justice to the right hon. gentleman, and say, You did not shrink from any change of opinion, however it might affect you, when you thought it your duty; you performed a great duty to England: in the name of Heaven why not do so to Ireland? Why not try other means with that country than coercion? He did not wish to dwell on the injustice of England to Ireland, but still it should not be forgotten that no country had suffered so much from another; but he would say, let all this be buried in oblivion, and put the people of both countries on an equality, and deal with Ireland as they dealt with England. He would say, Protection to all, injustice to none; and give equal rights and franchises to the people of Ireland with those which you yourselves enjoy. The various Acts you have passed to tranquillize Ireland have been insufficient; your coercive laws have failed; the argument, therefore, was inviting to a conciliatory process. They must have observed what was done in the way of conciliation by the Whigs, and the effect it produced; but there had been a recoil since gentlemen opposite came into power: crime had diminished during their day, but crime had increased since. God forbid that he should accuse the right hon. gentlemen of this! but he charged them with not looking sufficiently to the state of Ireland and the crimes thereof. One of them opposite, with a halo around his name, afforded an instance of this, and showed that he was a sadly bad politician. He had read a conversation which had occurred in some other place, and it had appeared in the newspapers, and he saw an illustrious name of one of the parties, to whom sentiments were attributed which must be regarded as being most calamitous, that he

should talk of the prosperity of Ireland, and that the trade of that country was on the increase, and that its imports and exports were on the increase. Since then there had been an increase of exports without a corresponding increase of imports. Where could he have been all this time, and not look to the evidence around him? He could have taken no notice of the reports of the Committee on the state of that country, and of the evidence which had been collected. If these books were consulted, it would be seen that no people in Europe were in so necessitous a state as the people of Ireland. It appeared that 7,000,000 out of the 8,200,000 of the population were engaged in agriculture, and most of them were in a state of distress. He would not proceed. What was the state of the population of that country, from the evidence of Alexander Nimmo, Esq., Civil Engineer. The hon gentleman read the following extract from the Report of the Lords' Committee of 1824, to inquire into the state of Ireland, page 226:—

“Your professional intercourse with Ireland has given you the means of general accurate information on the state of the peasantry of that country?

“I have seen a great deal of the peasantry. I have sometimes slept in their cabins, and had frequent intercourse with them, especially in the south and west of Ireland.

“I conceive the peasantry in Ireland to be, in general, in almost the lowest possible state of existence; their cabins are in the most miserable condition, and their food is potatoes with water—very often without anything else—frequently without salt, and I have frequently had occasion to meet persons who begged of me, on their knees, for the love of God, to give them some promise of employment, that from the credit of that, they might get the means of supporting themselves for a few months, until I could employ them.”

The following was the evidence of W. H. W. Newenham, Esq., before the Commons' Committee, 1824, p. 300:—

“Is the condition of the people very bad in respect to the means of subsistence, and houses, and dress? Excepting where a gentleman's own residence is, particularly so. I have seen several countries, and I never saw any peasantry so badly off.”

John O'Driscoll, Esq., barrister (same Report, 1824, p. 380), gave this evidence:—

“ Will you describe to the Committee, generally, the condition of the people, and their habits of living ? In the part of the country (county Cork) that I am best acquainted with, the condition of the people is the very worst that can possibly be. Nothing can be worse than the condition of the lower classes of the labourers, and the farmers are not much better (381); they have nothing whatever, I think, but potatoes and water; they seldom have salt.”

Right Rev. Dr. Doyle, Commons' Report, 1825, p. 205 :—

“ What is the state of the lower orders in your diocese ? I can safely state to the Committee that the extent and intensity of their distress is greater than any language can describe; and that I think the lives of many hundreds of them are very often shortened by this great distress.”

Hon. gentlemen talked of murders, but were not those murders of the worst description ? The witness proceeded :—

“ It also enervates their minds, paralyses their energies, and leaves them incapable of almost any useful exertion.”

Page 206, describing the state in which some of the peasantry exist :—

“ Thus, he drags out an existence that it were better it were terminated in any way than to be continued in the manner it is.”

R. De la Cour, Esq., county Cork, page 548 :—

“ What is the condition of the peasantry ? Wretched in the extreme.”

Page 549 :—

“ Are the inhabitants of that country exceedingly miserable ? Miserable with very few exceptions.”

The Report of the Select Committee of 1830, states, p. 4 :—

“ That a very considerable proportion of the population (variously estimated at a fourth or fifth of the whole) is considered to be out of employment; that this, combined with the consequences of an altered system of managing land, is stated to produce misery and suffering which no language can possibly describe, and which it is necessary to witness in order fully to estimate.”

He begged the particular attention of the House to this, page 8:—

“The situation of the ejected tenantry, or of those who are obliged to give up their small holdings in order to promote the consolidation of farms, is necessarily most deplorable. It would be impossible for language to convey an idea of the state of distress to which the ejected tenantry have been reduced, or of the disease, misery, or even vice which they have propagated in the towns where they have settled; so that not only they who have been ejected have been rendered miserable, but they have carried with them and propagated that misery. They have increased the stock of labour; they have rendered the inhabitants of those places which have received them more crowded; they have given occasion to the dissemination of disease; they have been obliged to resort to theft, and all manner of vice and iniquity, to procure subsistence; but what is, perhaps, the most painful of all, a vast number of them have perished of want.”

Such was the effect of the ejectment of tenantry in Ireland. He would not quote individual instances of misery arising from this course, but should refer to general evidence as to the misery of the people, and as to those absolutely dying from want. This was the evidence of Dr. Doyle and other creditable witnesses. He would now refer to Lord Devon's Report, a document from which the Government could not shrink, he was sure, and no one would charge that noble lord and his colleagues with exaggeration. In that Report it was stated:—

“That the agricultural labourers of Ireland suffer the greatest privations and hardships; that they depend upon precarious and casual employment for subsistence; that they are badly housed, badly fed, badly clothed, and badly paid for their labour; that it would be impossible to describe adequately the sufferings and privations which the cottiers and labourers and their families in most parts of the country endure; that in many districts their only food is the potato, their only beverage water; that their cabins are seldom a protection against the weather; that a bed or a blanket is a rare luxury; and that nearly in all, their pig and their manure heap constitute their only property; that a large proportion of the entire population comes within the designation of agricultural labourers, and endure sufferings greater than the people of any other country in Europe have to sustain.”

He would remind the right hon. baronet (Sir J. Graham)

that he had stated that the number and atrocity of the murders in Ireland was a blot upon Christianity. Was not such a state of things as he had just described a blot upon Christianity? This, be it recollected, was forty-five years after the Union, during which time Ireland had been under the Government of this country, which had reduced its population to a worse condition than that of any other country in Europe. That was the work of the British Parliament. They had governed Ireland; but what was the testimony borne with regard to the character of the Irish people? There was once an Englishman, Attorney-General of Ireland, who said that the Irish people were the fondest of submitting to impartial justice of any people upon earth; that they looked not to any advantage to themselves in going to law, so much as to the strict justice of the case. But he would proceed to more recent times; he would give the House some specimens of the modern character of the Irish people, from the evidence published with the Reports laid before Parliament on this subject. He need not appeal to the right hon. baronet, who had himself admitted the patient endurance of the Irish people. The Devon Commission also spoke of the same fact, and said that the patience and the endurance of the people deserved the attention of Parliament. But the mere admission of that patience and endurance would not do; they should have deeds and not words. They had a strong case, and if they desired to serve the people they should recollect that it would require a powerful hand, and a manly tone and temper, he would say a tone and temper dignifying to human nature, to stand over such an amount of human misery, and, as it were by a touch of the wand, to turn that want into comfort and happiness.

But to enable them to ascertain how they should proceed, he would read some extracts for them in order that they might understand the people whom they had to deal with. They were told that the urgency of the case alone justified the sweeping inroad upon the constitution. The Irish people were dealt with as a nation of assassins whom the ordinary

laws of civilized nations could not restrain. Was that their true character? Let the evidence on the records of Parliament testify. Major Warburton, upon his examination before the Select Committee of the Commons, 1824 (Report, page 154), is asked—

“Are any circumstances in your knowledge concerning the anxiety of the population to be employed? I have known at that period (the time of distress) that any person, in fact, that could afford to give the people one meal a day could get their labour for it.

“One meal of what? One meal of food of any kind. I believe there were instances of it.”

W. W. Beecher, Esq. (same Report, 1824, page 195):—

“I think it (submissiveness towards persons in a higher station) is carried beyond proper respect, and that it is more than is justified. I think they have been unused to fair dealing from the upper orders; and that, if they get it, they are astonished and gratified beyond measure.

“Is there not, at the same time, a strong attachment on the part of the tenantry towards their landlords in cases where they conceive they have been well used? Very strong.”

R. Griffith, Esq., Civil Engineer (same Report, page 231):—

“Do you conceive that if an English gentleman were to engage in the investment of capital in any commercial or manufacturing speculation in the centre of that very district, or the most disturbed part of it, that he would be in any hazard, personal or otherwise? I think neither himself nor the property would be in any hazard, provided he treated the people justly, and paid them fairly.”

John Dunne, Esq., Queen’s County (same Report, page 284):—

“Generally speaking, is their disposition orderly and quiet? Generally speaking, it is so; and to the want of employment I attribute, in a great measure, much of our unhappy state.

“Is there a great anxiety on the part of the people to be employed? The greatest possible; the anxiety of the creatures to be employed for any kind of remuneration is wonderfully great.

"Are they industrious? Very industrious, indeed, if they can only get employment."

Rev. John Collins, P.P., Skibbereen, county Cork (same Report, 1824, page 337):—

"The people feel they exist more by sufferance than by law; but whenever they are treated kindly they are grateful, because they think the kindness extraordinary, and the result of natural benevolence rather than of the law."

James Lawler, Esq., J. P., county Kerry (same Report, page 439):—

"There is no person more amenable to the law than the Irish peasantry, if they are left alone.

"When they find the intention is to deal justly and reasonably with them? They are the easiest in the world to manage, although they are very wretched.

"Are they industrious—do they work hard? They are the most industrious people in the world.

"Are they kind and charitable towards each other? Their charity is unbounded towards each other; they always give something, more or less, according to their means."

Archbishop of Cashel (Lords' Committee, 1825; Report, page 278):—

"Does not your grace think, from the experience you have had of the common people of Ireland, that they are very grateful for any benefit conferred upon them, and disposed to submit to the authority of their superiors, when treated with justice? Certainly, their gratitude is great; they are accustomed to act from immediate feeling and impulse, and very much disposed to receive every favour with a respectful gratitude almost bordering on excess."

Colonel W. J. Curry, Agent to Duke of Devonshire (Commons' Committee, 1825, Report, page 300):—

"Do you find the lower orders of the Irish, with whom you deal, in general, a grateful class of persons? They appear extremely grateful at the moment, and I have no reason to suppose they feel ungrateful at any time. I think they are, in general, a very grateful people.

"In general, do you find them easy to be governed? Certainly, very easy to be governed."

Earl Kingston (Lords' Report, 1825, page 431):—

"Is there a desire to seek employment where it can be found? A vast desire; they will work for anything, whatever they can get. I have had some offered to me for threepence a day, stout, able men, and glad to get it."

J. S. Rochfort, Esq., county Carlow, (same Report, page 543):—

"No man in Ireland, be he ever so poor, refuses anything to the travelling beggar.

"Have you observed among the lower classes of Ireland a great feeling of charity and kindness? I believe if they had but one dinner they would share it with a travelling beggar.

"You conceive that benevolence is a strong ingredient in the Irish peasant? A very strong ingredient."

That was the evidence of a gentleman of very strong political feelings, which, if anything would have influenced him in giving his evidence but truth and justice, would have inclined him to speak against, and not in favour, of the popular side. The evidence went on to say:—

"Do you attribute it (viz., any misconduct or lawlessness) to any defect of national character, or to political circumstances acting strongly on his feelings? Certainly not to his natural character, but to the political circumstances in which he is placed."

James Cropper, Esq., of Liverpool, merchant (same Report, page 688):—

What was the object of your visit to Ireland? To see the state of the country, with a view to ascertain what was the best means of relieving the distress."

Page 691:—

"Did you observe in Ireland whether there was any anxiety on the subject of education on the part of the people? Yes; in all my inquiries

I received the same answer, that the anxiety for education was very great.

"Which do you consider the English or the Irish peasantry to be more desirous of education? I should think the Irish peasantry."

John Wiggins, Esq. (an English gentleman), land agent (Select Committee, Commons, 1830):—

"3993. Do you think there is, on the part of the Irish peasantry, a spirit of industry and an anxiety to improve that can be relied upon as a means of eventually bettering their condition? I certainly do. I think they are energetic and industrious whenever they see any prospect of their industry tending to their own comfort.

"3994. The efforts I have witnessed are really extraordinary; people bringing manure from the sea on their backs, up extraordinary cliffs, such as an Englishman would not fancy to be accessible, and I give them credit for infinite perseverance in these ways. I have seen pieces of land cultivated that it would be thought scarcely possible to get at here (in England).

"4060. Do you recollect the failure of the crop in 1821? I do.

"4061. Was there not a very great pressure upon different parts of Kerry at that time from that failure? Very considerable. I think out of a population of 230,000 in Kerry, 170,000 were reported to have been destitute of the means of subsistence for the moment; and it ought to be remarked, to the credit of the people, that not a single depredation on property took place."

In his second Report upon Poor Laws, Mr. Nicholls states (paragraph 31) that in Donegal—

"There was no employment for the young people, nor relief for the aged, nor means nor opportunity for removing their surplus numbers to some more eligible spot; they could only, therefore, live on hoping, as they said, that times may mend, and their landlords would sooner or later do something for them. Yet, with all this suffering, no disturbance or act of violence has occurred in Donegal. During the severe privations of last summer, when numbers were actually in want of sustenance, there was no dishonesty, no plundering. The people starved, but they would not steal; and although their little stock of cattle and movables has been notoriously lessening these last four years, and especially in the last year, which seems to have swallowed up nearly all their visible means, they have yet paid their rents. The occupier's share of the produce has been insufficient for his support, yet the landlord's share has generally been paid in full."

He would cite again the Devon Commissioners (Devon Report, page 12):—

"Our personal experience and observations during our inquiry have afforded us a melancholy confirmation of these statements. And we cannot forbear expressing our strong sense of the patient endurance which the labouring classes have generally exhibited under sufferings greater, we believe, than the people of any other country in Europe have to sustain."

And at page 36, already quoted:—

"Up to this period any improvement that may have taken place is attributable almost entirely to the habits of temperance in which they have so generally persevered, and not, we grieve to say, to any increased demand for their labour."

Such were the people that the House had to deal with—such were the people they had to legislate for. If they treated them with justice, the House might be sure of their gratitude and hearty co-operation; but he would say, let them not, when they asked for bread, be given a stone or a serpent. He regretted exceedingly that he felt it to be his duty to delay the House so long; but he felt it necessary, in the next place, to refer to evidence in support of the causes of the disturbances existing in Ireland. Francois Blackburne, Esq., K.C., at present Lord Chief Justice of Ireland, appointed to administer the Insurrection Act (Lords' Committee, 1824, Report, p. 4), said:—

"On the property of Lord Stradbroke, in the county of Limerick, there were forty or fifty families; the whole of that numerous body, consisting of persons of all ages and both sexes, was dispossessed, and their houses prostrated; they were, generally speaking, destitute of the means of support, and, unless relieved by people from charitable motives, I do not know what was to become of them. But that circumstance created a good deal of irritation in the country, and we were apprehensive of its effects in endangering the public peace. This is not a singular case; the same thing, to a greater or less degree, is generally prevalent in the whole of the country."

Page 7:—

"Will you state what, in your opinion, is the ultimate source of discontent in Ireland? The extreme misery and wretchedness of the population; the great mass of the population is in a state of poverty, destitute of employment, and, generally speaking, destitute of what, in this country, would be consi-

dered the comforts and necessities of life. It is a subject on which an Englishman can scarcely be said to have the materials even for belief."

The state of Ireland was so bad that the Lord Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench declares it is a subject on which an Englishman can scarcely be said to have the materials of belief. In all this the House would observe that he was not at all alluding to the recent calamity that had befallen the country in the potato disease. All this evidence had been given long before that misfortune had been thought of or known. But he would proceed. Major Thomas Powell, Inspector of Constabulary, Leinster district, said (p. 165):—

"In the Queen's County, where the collieries are in full work, there is no instance of any outrage committed in that part of the country. Generally, are there more disturbances where there is most poverty and misery? Certainly; for instance, in the barony of Galmoy there is not a resident in the whole barony, and that is one of the most disturbed."

Major-General Richard Bourke, J. P., county Limerick (Commons' Committee, 1825, p. 313):—

"In the event of re-entry (on termination of leases) are you aware what becomes of the surplus population? I hardly know; there are instances where they have been sent off the land, and have huddled themselves upon bogs and other uncultivated places; and some of them go wandering about the country.

"Have you any doubt that the system of diminishing the number of tenants is generally acted upon, on the termination of all the leases in that part of Ireland? I should say it is universally acted upon.

"Does not that produce a great deal of misery? Yes; a great deal of misery. It has led to murders, burning of houses, and several other outrages."

Matthew Barrington, Esq., Crown Solicitor (same Report, p. 574):—

"What do you consider to have been the immediate cause of the outrages which have taken place in Munster? I think the attachment to land and change of possession has been one cause, the collection of tithes by proctors, and an unemployed population."

Robert Smith, Esq., Clerk of the Peace, County Monaghan (Commons' Committee, 1830, Q. 2,930):—

"What becomes of those tenants (evicted on consolidation of farms)? I cannot inform the Committee what becomes of them; but in one of the cases to which I now allude, I was informed that upwards of twenty families were turned out, and in the other case more than thirty. The consequence was, that the persons so dispossessed did not submit quietly, and in revenge cut the tails off the cattle of the proprietors of the estates, and committed various outrages. In the other case, the people who were turned out mustered a strong armed force, and at night attacked the persons who had been put into possession, whereby some lives were lost. I should here observe, that previous to these occurrences, the county in which this has happened had been peaceable.

"2931. I think this mischief arises from sending the people upon the world without means of procuring shelter or opportunity of earning money."

Now that was the case in the county of Monaghan, which was in the north of Ireland, and where the House would perceive the same causes led to exactly the same description of outrages as in the south. John Wiggins, Esq., land agent (same Report) in answer to Q. 4027:—

"I found in general that three-fourths of the produce are paid often in rent in Ireland; but certainly, even upon a tillage farm, half the produce is frequently paid in rent—about double the proportion that is paid in England.

"4030. I conceive the relation between landlord and tenant has given rise to that political commotion which we call 'Whiteboyism.'"

Matthew Barrington, Esq., Crown Solicitor, Munster Circuit (Commons' Committee, 1842):—

"They (the Whiteboy associations, &c.) have always had objects connected more or less with land.

"5. Be good enough to explain what appears to you to be the cause of those several outrages? Since I have been Crown Solicitor, I have endeavoured to get at the root of the system by tracing each outrage to its immediate cause. . . . I have traced the origin of almost every case I prosecuted, and find that they generally arise from the attachment, to the dispossession of, and the change in the possession of land. . . . I have never known a case of direct hostility to the Government, as a government, although hos-

tility to the law leads to hostility to the Government; but as to direct opposition to the Government, I never knew an instance of that being the object.

"14. I knew one instance (of ejection without provision) which led to a desperate murder on Lord Stradbroke's estate at Bilboa. The farm was out of lease, and during the lease a great number of people had been allowed to reside on it. Mr. Blood, the gentleman who was murdered in Clare last year, took possession of the farm, as agent to Lord Stradbroke, dispossessed the tenants, levelled their houses, and they were all thrown out on the road. The succeeding tenant was immediately afterwards murdered."

That was the evidence of a gentleman who had been for more than thirty years Crown Solicitor to the Munster circuit.

This was the evidence of the Rev. Nicholas O'Connor, P. P., Maryborough (Commons' Committee, 1832):—

"3239. Are the Committee to understand that the Whitefeet are confined to those ejected from their grounds? It is not confined to them, but they have been the persons that first made it general, and others had an apprehension of a similar fate, and they have joined it from thinking it would be a protection to them to keep them in their land.

"3329. I am very sure there is nothing that they would not forgive sooner than the turning them out of their farms. Every string of their hearts is twined round every twig upon them. It is impossible to induce the people to forgive those turning them out of the place where their fathers and grand-fathers lived.

"3331. They abandon their clergy, and we can have no influence over them.

"3332. It gathers together all the desperate people? Yes, they care not if they are taken and hanged for their desperate acts, committed in a state of revenge. Death would be a relief to them—they care not for life."

Matthew Singleton, Esq., chief magistrate of police (same Report, 1832):—

"4101. There is scarcely an outrage committed relative to lands, but what the people assign a cause for, if I may use that expression. In some instances the unfortunate people do show one.

"4102. What are the Committee to understand by showing a cause? Oppression, high rents, low wages, and contracts broken."

Rev. J. Delany, P. P., Ballinakill, Queen's County (same Committee, 1832):—

"4373. Asked as to causes of disturbances. There have been a great

many causes. I will state one that occurred in my own parish. There were three families comprising twenty-three individuals. The heads of those families were accused of having cut scollops or switches, for the purpose of thatching their cabins, or, perhaps, for sale; there were some ash and oak. The parties so offending were summoned, and a fine of £5 recorded against them. The landlord gave them the option of going out instant (it was in the depth of winter, in November), forgiving them the arrears due and the fine; or to pay the fine, and be served with notice to quit in six months. They chose the first alternative, and went out; their families were scattered over the parish. The next summer, 1830, was one of famine with us. We were obliged to introduce a sort of poor-rate to keep the people from starving and dying in the ditches. Two of these families were thrown upon the parish, and I had to support them myself. One of the poor men lost his cow some time after being turned out. A series of calamities befel him. He took ill, and after lingering a long time in a state of the utmost destitution and misery, died of a broken heart. The sons of this man, together with a son of the second family above mentioned, became leaders in this system of Ribbonism; and, I have reason to believe, were some of the most daring and ferocious among them. One of them, to this day, has held out against all my admonitions, and has not yet surrendered himself.

“Did any other cases of considerable hardship occur in your neighbourhood? There was a vast number of persons in the course of the last seven years ejected from the estate of the late Mr. Crosby; some of them came into my parish, and I found them exceedingly troublesome, and disposed to engage in those illegal associations.”

Rev. Michael Keogh, P.P., Abbeyleix, Queen's County (same Committee, 1832):—

“4336. To what do you attribute these outrages? The poverty of the people, and a great many having been ejected from their lands.

“4337. State the particulars of the ejectments. [Mentions 174 families on one property, 34 on another, and several others, principally at the expiration of their leases.]

“4654. The disturbance began subsequent to the ejectment of the people.

“4670. How do those people who are ejected maintain themselves afterwards? Very poorly indeed; they throw themselves into the towns, and live therein, strolling about and trying to get work.

“4676. There are some of the families ejected in the most wretched state—paupers, going from door to door.”

James Naper, Esq., Loughcrew, County Meath (Commons' Committee, 1832):—

"5606. Do you think that the lower orders have any reason to be discontented? I think very just reasons.

"5607. State what these reasons are. There are many reasons why Ireland should be in a discontented state; but one of the principal reasons is, the position of the landlords and the lower orders of the peasantry."

John Robinson Price, Esq., J.P., Queen's County (Commons' Committee, 1832):—

"6676. On the very borders of the barony of Ossory, on a noble lord's estate, an ejectment was brought against the middleman, an *Advers* issued, possession taken, and the land was re-let to a Mr. Marum, not to the tenants in possession, which is the usual way, for the six months' equity of redemption. Mr. Marum deluded the tenants with the hope that he took the land for their benefit; but when the six months expired, he turned out those tenants, and, I am told, he sold the household effects for the six months' rent. The consequence was, his cattle were houghed, and driven from the county Kilkenny to the Queen's County for that purpose. For three years this system was kept up, and Mr. Marum was shot in the open day, afterwards, in the midst of a dense population.

"6677. Was this transaction accompanied by much general disturbance? It ignited the whole barony of Ossory; so much so that the barony was put under the Peace Preservation Act, with a resident stipendiary magistrate."

"6736. Is it your opinion that the clearing of estates and the consolidation of farms has been pushed to too great an extent? I think, under the circumstance, it has. There is no employment for the poor, and a conviction rests on their minds that a piece of land is necessary to existence. I certainly think that the disposition of the landlord, and the interest of the landlord, were sufficiently active and alive to carry on the work of depopulation gradually; and I do think he was aided, assisted, and enabled to carry on the system with greater velocity by certain Acts of the Legislature, such as the Civil Bill Ejectment Act, which gave a very summary process to the landlord; the distraining of standing corn; the Joint Tenancy Act; the Sub-Letting Act, which, though it did not turn anyone out, it kept them from getting in when out; and last, not least, the disfranchisement of the 40s. freeholders, which, I am certain, broke the last link of connection between the landlord and the pauper tenant."

John Cahill, Esq., surveyor and civil engineer (same Report):—

"7251. Were there any other circumstances which contributed to that state of disturbance which has taken place? There were.

7252. What are they? There were a good many people evicted and turned out of their farms. About four years ago, there was one gentleman who evicted eighty-nine persons; another ninety-six; another ninety-five.

"7255. Were these cases where the land had fallen out of lease? They were.

"7257. Gentlemen have agreed to make the farms, in my opinion, as large as possible, and those people who remained on the lands were evicted and put off, as is the case, which I stated of those gentlemen who turned out the numbers I have stated.

"7258. Do you conceive that it has been these individuals who have been so turned out, from want of having proper means of supporting themselves, who have become wanderers and vagrants, and the source of the Whitesfeet association that prevailed in that part of the country? I do very much consider so. There were 1,126 of these poor people who were evicted, with the idle colliers, going about, left idle on a part of two parishes, and all that within six miles of each other.

"7260. Do you know them by name? Yes, I have their names.

"7261. Are you able to trace what has become of them in the course of the last four years? Yes.

"7262. State generally what has become of them. Do they continue wandering about? I have known on one estate, which is near me, and which I regulated for a gentleman, there has been a great many of the old people turned off that became beggars, and a good many of them died of want."

W. Kemmis, Esq., Crown Solicitor, Leinster Circuit (Lords' Report, 1839):—

"6743. In answer to question, gives account of eleven murders in Tipperary, from 1816 to 1838, all arising from evictions.

"6744. What, in your opinion, has been the cause of the outrages in Tipperary, generally? Generally on account of land; the letting and the dispossession of land.

"6745. What proportion of outrages may be attributed to that cause? The greatest number decidedly.

"6746. Two-thirds? Three-fourths and more.

"7148. Do the Committee understand you rightly, that Tipperary is more disturbed than other counties? Yes, than other counties on my circuit.

"7149. And that the great majority of violent crimes are caused by turning tenants out? Yes."

Matthew Harrington, Esq., Crown Solicitor, Munster Circuit (same Report):—

"From your examination of witnesses, and from other circumstances that must have come to your knowledge occasionally, can you state to the Committee what, in your opinion, has been the cause of those outrages? I think the causes have been an anxiety to possess land; the dispossession of land, and the disputes about land.

"7347. That is, during the whole of that period? With respect to all the disturbances during the time I have been Crown Solicitor, I could almost trace every outrage to some dispute about land.

"7437. Have any outrages that you have inquired into appeared to arise from hostility to the Government? No; I never knew, in twenty-five years, an instance of any outrages directed against the Government, or that had any political object.

"7465. When the causes of outrages have been removed, have you observed that the disturbances have immediately subsided? I have, certainly."

Edward Tiernay, Esq., Crown Solicitor, North-west Circuit (same Report):—

"7727. Will you have the goodness to state to the Committee your opinion of the cause of those agrarian outrages? I believe it is a great deal occasioned by the letting and dispossession of land, and dispossession of former tenants or occupiers."

E. C. Hickman, Esq., Crown Solicitor, Connaught Circuit (same Report):—

"8446. Have you heard of any case of tenants being turned out because they gave a vote at elections contrary to the will of their landlord? Yes, I have heard of that.

"8477. What was the county in which you heard of it? My own county of Clare."

Piers Geale, Esq., Crown Solicitor, Home Circuit (same Report):—

"8605. Will you have the goodness to state to the Committee what, in your opinion, has been the more general and common class of outrage of every description on your circuit? I think it has always some connection with the taking of land."

J. Tabiteau, R. M., county Tipperary (same Report):—

"9628. The general groundwork of the outrages in that district you consider to be disputes relating to land? Yes; property—land, generally speaking.

"9720. Is ejectment from land in the county Tipperary synonymous nearly with reduction to destitution and misery on the part of the cottier tenant? Indeed it is; and ejecting throws them altogether out of their grade of life, out of the rank of farmers into that of labourers.

"9746. What, in your opinion, has been, generally speaking, the cause of the great number of murders in the county of Tipperary? I believe the cause of actual murder is generally, ground—something about land."

J. Howley, Esq., Assistant-Barrister, county Tipperary (same Report):—

"9992. Are you able to form an opinion whether the ejectments have been more numerous in the county of Tipperary, in proportion to the population, than in other counties? From conferring with different assistant-barristers, it would appear there are a greater number of ejectments in the county of Tipperary than in other counties."

John Barnes, Esq., Stipendiary Magistrate, county Longford (same Report):—

"11,755. As far as you have been able to form an opinion, will you have the goodness to state what you conceive to have been the causes of these murders? From everything which has come to my knowledge, from the number of witnesses I have examined, I am inclined to think—nay, I am certain—these murders have occurred in consequence of persons having been turned out of their lands, and those lands having been granted to persons of an opposite religion and character.

"11,803. Is there any hostility exhibited towards the Government of the country? Not the slightest that I am aware of."

Tomkins Brew, Esq., S. M., Tuam (same Report):—

"12,765. What was the cause of the firing at Mr. Synge, and the murder of his servant? He had turned several of his tenants off his land that had refused to send their children to his school, and a conspiracy was formed on that account to murder him. He was fired at, and his servant shot."

In order that they might rightly estimate the working of the ejectment system, he would state a few results. In the

county of Tipperary, where there were most ejectments, there were also most murders; and he would beg to call the particular attention of the House to this fact. It appeared by Appendix, Part IV., pages 293 to 302, Land Commission Report, that in the year 1843 there were issued from the Civil Bill Courts 5,244 ejectments, comprising 14,816 defendants; and from the superior Courts (allowing for the Queen's Bench the same average as 1841, the number for the latter years in that Court not being given), 1,784 ejectments, comprising 16,503 defendants; making a total of 7,028 ejectments, 31,319 defendants; or, within the period of five years—from 1839 to 1843—comprised in the return, upwards of 150,000 tenants had been subjected to ejectment process. Did he deny that disturbances existed in the country? He never did deny the existence of these disturbances. He never denied that dreadful murders were committed. He never had any notion of concealing these horrible facts. He was now placing the facts before the Government, and at the same time showing the causes that had led to these crimes, in order that they might be able to apply a remedy to these causes. He had shown by evidence what was the disposition of the people. He had shown that the causes of the outrages were attendant on ejectment from land; and he would next come to a few others of the grievances of which he complained. He complained of the administration of justice in Ireland; of their being no confidence existing on the part of the people in those intrusted with the administration of the law. He did not like to be bringing the names of individuals so often before the House; but he would appeal to the Government itself whether they had not uniformly appointed to the administration of the law every man who had been most violent in his political feelings, and who had taken the strongest part against the religion of the people of Ireland. He did not mean to disparage the judicial acts of these individuals. He knew of no serious disparagement of their conduct on the Bench; but it was not on him, but on the public, that these things would make an impression.

Had not the Government made Mr. Serjeant Lefroy a Judge? Had they not placed Mr. Serjeant Jackson also on the Bench? And had they not made Mr. Litton a Master in Chancery? Were these men favourable to the people or to the religion of the people of Ireland? Had they not also appointed Chief Justice Pennefather, who was no friend to the Irish people, and the present Lord Chief Justice, who, while Attorney-General, had deserted one Administration and gone over to another? He too was no friend to the Irish people.

He would not go further. He was sorry that he had repeated even so many names, and he would not continue the controversy further respecting them. He spoke not of their individual character, but of the impression which the appointment of such men was likely to produce in the public mind. And would the House regard as nothing this fact? Lord Chancellor Sugden was reported to have said the other day, that the people of Ireland must have the fullest reliance on the administration of justice. But who was to give them that confidence? Who, if not the magistracy of the country? And could they forget that seventy-four magistrates had been struck off the list for no other reason but that they had advocated the Repeal of the Union? The people knew that their doing so was no crime; that not one of them had been prosecuted for advocating Repeal; that, in point of fact, there could be no prosecution for such a charge. And, he would ask the Government, would they now enact this Coercion Bill, while the exclusion of these seventy-four gentlemen from the commission of the peace was continued? If they had committed a crime, if they had disgraced the bench, if they had dishonoured the administration of justice—well and good. In such case let them, by all means, be removed. But there was not the slightest allegation against them of anything of the kind. Then the State trials. He would not say a single word upon the proceedings of the Solicitor-General; but how were the parties tried who stood arraigned on that occasion? Was there the least doubt of there having been a one-sided charge? Was there the least doubt

that those privileges which should have been at once conceded to the accused were pertinaciously as well as fatally refused? He would only say, that these circumstances had made a bad impression upon the people, and that House was bound to make them a recompense. And what had he (Mr. O'Connell) to suggest by way of recompense? He had as yet suggested nothing; but he would not leave the Government and the House without the means of making it. Although there had been some murders committed in Ireland, that were not directly traceable to evictions from land, yet in sum and substance, the whole form and state of society showed it was from evictions of land, from the insecurity of land-holdings, from the difficulties arising through the want of land, that we must seek for the great and primary cause of all these crimes. There were some exceptions, he admitted, but he was sorry to say that those exceptions were becoming more numerous. The truth was so, and he did not shrink from stating the truth. The great fault, however, was the land question. The fact was, that that House had done too much for the landlord, and too little for the occupier. What had been the first measure for the benefit of the landlords? The first Statute passed after the Union in favour of the landlords was the Act 56 George III., c. 88, which gave them additional powers to work out ejectments. Up to that time they had not power to distrain. The Statutes of England were not enacted in Ireland towards landlords; but the Act 56 George III., c. 88, gave them powers which were no part of the bargain at the time of the Union. Many parties had taken leases, and made contracts without those new powers being in the hands of the landlords. The Statute gave them the power of distraining growing crops, keeping them till ripe, saving and selling them when ripe, charging upon the tenant the accumulation of expense.

All these powers were first introduced by this Statute and conferred upon the Irish landlord. He did not believe there had ever been a more fertile source of murder and outrage than these powers. Thus, the source of crime was directly traceable

to the legislation of that House; and it was the imperative duty of that House, and every member in it, immediately, or as speedily as possible, to repeal that Act. Then there came the Act, 58 George III., cap. 39, for civil bill ejectment. First the power was given to distrain upon the growing crop, enabling the landlord to ruin the tenant; and then there came the further power to the landlord of turning out the tenant from his holding. The Act 1 George IV., cap. 41, extended the power of civil bill ejectment; and the Act 1 George IV., cap. 87, enabled the landlords to get security for costs from defendants in ejectments. Then the Act 1 and 2 George IV., c. 31, gave the landlords the right of immediate execution in ejectment; and the Act 6 and 7 William IV., gave further facilities for civil bill ejectments. All these were additional powers to the landlord; and it was to these Statutes that the late Lord Chief Justice Pennefather referred, when he said their object was to forward the interests of the landlord. The repeal of these laws was one of the remedies which he (Mr. O'Connell) called for, but not the only one. He wanted the House to determine at once to do justice to Ireland, politically, as well as in relation to the law of landlord and tenant. He would now enumerate the remedies which would create political satisfaction, and which the people believed would be their best protection. First, they had not an adequate number of members to represent them in that House; next, an extension of the franchise; third, corporate reform; and last, a satisfactory arrangement of the temporalities of the Church. These four general remedies he demanded from that House as a mode of coercing the people of Ireland by their affections and their interests into a desire to continue the Union with England. Then, as to the remedies in relation to landlord and tenant. He asked the House to repeal the Statutes on this subject since the Union. He asked the House to give a limitation to the landlord's power where there was no lease. Do not allow the landlord to distrain unless where there was a twenty-one years' lease, nor to eject unless where there was a thirty-one years' lease. He respectfully called on that House

in the next place to give full compensation to tenants for their improvements. Labour was the property of the tenant; and if the tenant by his labour and skill improved the land, and made it more valuable, let him have the benefit of those improvements before the landlord turned him out of possession. See what a stimulant was here offered to activity and exertion! A man, who now laboured helplessly, would unquestionably labour with greater energy when he understood he was labouring for himself. This principle was embodied in Lord Devon's Report, though it was not worked out. The principle, too, had been introduced by Lord Stanley. It was, therefore, part of the administration of her Majesty's Government. Let it not be a mockery. Do not encumber it with clauses and provisions which the tenants were neither able to comply with nor to understand; but act upon it openly and manfully, giving the most practical security to the landlord for his rent, and to the tenant the value for his solid and substantial improvements, and the House would then see a stop put to outrage. The next remedy he called for was, an extension of the Ulster tenant-right. Let that right be extended all over Ireland. In Lord Devon's Report the superior tranquillity of Ulster was traced to the security afforded to the tenant by this right; for there no tenant could be put out of possession without receiving full and fair value. The evidence on this subject was of some length, but he would read a portion of it to the House.

Mr. Hancock, agent to Lord Lurgan, counties Armagh, Down, and Antrim (Land Commissioners' Report, p. 483):—

"37, 38. Much of our Ulster prosperity has been the result of this extraordinary matter (namely, tenant-right) in connection with tenure; and no measure would have a greater effect in improving the condition of the south and west than the introduction of tenant-right as it exists in Ulster. I consider tenant-right the claim of the tenant and his heirs to continue in undisturbed possession so long as the rent is paid; and in the event of ejectment or change of occupancy, it is the sum the new occupier must pay the old for the peaceable enjoyment of his holding. I consider tenant-right beneficent to the community, because it establishes a security in the possession of land, and leads to the improvement of the estate, without any expenditure of capital

on the part of the landlord. It likewise affords the best security for his rent, as arrears are always allowed to be deducted from the amount the occupier receives for tenant-right. It is very conducive to the peace of the country, for almost every man has a stake in the community, and is, therefore, opposed to agrarian outrage, as well as riots. The laws are more respected; there are none of those reckless, daring men, who are ready for any deed, under the consciousness that their situations cannot be worse. The liberty of the subject is more respected, and imprisonment has greater terrors, from the fact that almost every tenant can procure bail for his future appearance in court or his future good behaviour. There is never any instance of forfeited recognizance. An arrest is, therefore, a much more serious matter in this than in any other part of Ireland, for, as there is less risk (from his stake) of the offender flying, so here the degradation is more keenly felt, and parties often subscribe and bring actions against magistrates for false arrests and imprisonment, whereas, where no tenant-right exists, the first step is to arrest to prevent escape; and, secondly, the consideration of the cause. Imprisonment and contamination with bad characters are thus more frequent. The magistrates cannot have the same respect for the liberty of the subject; and when acts of oppression occur, revenge is taken, not by an appeal to the civil court for damages, but by combination and an appeal to force, waylaying, and murder. The necessity of distress for rent—a fruitful source of riots and broken heads—is also obviated by the tenant-right, as there is no danger of loss for arrears.”

Then there was the following in another part of the Report. Robert Smith, Esq., Clerk of the Peace, county of Monaghan, gave this evidence:—

“80. Do they often sell the tenant-right where there is an old lease? Very frequently.

“81. Where the tenant is ejected for non-payment of rent, by his landlord, is he allowed to sell his tenant-right? I am not aware that any such right of sale is recognised by the landlord; but it is generally known throughout the country that an agrarian law exists, such as to intimidate any of the lower classes of farmers from taking land from which a tenant has been ejected for any cause, without the person coming in making compensation to the party turned out.”

“82. That applies to the tenant going out under all circumstances? I think so.

John Lindsay, Banbridge, county Down (Land Commissioners' Report, pp. 883, 584):—

“39. Is the tenant-right or sale of good-will prevalent in the district, and to whom is the purchase money paid? It prevails in the district; the

tenants who have held the land think they have a right to dispose of the land when they are going to leave it; they think they have always a right to do so, and very reasonably, I think.

"40. Is it generally recognised by the landlord? Some recognise it, and some do not; but where they do not recognise it, they set their faces against it; they are very generally defeated, and have been obliged to do it after risking life, in some instances, in my neighbourhood.

"41. Is it done behind their backs, without their knowledge? No; they have even ejected the tenantry. I have known some of them do it in the parish I live in. One of them put a man out of his farm, and there is no person will take it. He sent down a person to cultivate the farm, and he was sent home again. The people gathered that night, and desired him to go home, and not come there again; and the man got leave to sell his tenant-right afterwards.

"42. How long ago is that? About three years ago. Something similar happened to a man, about two or three miles from my place, last winter was a year.

"43. Is the value of the tenant-right increasing or diminishing, and how is it affected by the tenure? The value of the tenant-right is decreasing in consequence of a scarcity of money, and I suppose it would be regulated also by the price of land at the time the tenant-right would be sold. If it is at a high rent they will give less; and if at a low rent, they will not get more.

"44. What should you say was the value of tenant-right of land fairly set and held at will, comparing it with a year's rent, or by the acre? About four years ago, at a place I receive the rent of, it would have sold for £20 an acre, and now, though the rent is lowered 10 per cent., it would be difficult enough to get £10."

Mr. Handcock, Lord Lurgan's agent, Down, Antrim, and Armagh:—

"38. The landlords are compelled to recognise tenant-right, as, in several instances in this neighbourhood, where they have refused to allow tenant-right, the incoming tenant's house has been burned, his cattle houghed, or his crops trodden down by night. The disallowance of tenant-right, as far as I know, is always attended with outrage. A landlord cannot even resume possession to himself without paying it. In fact, it is one of the sacred rights of the country he touches with impunity; and if systematic efforts were made amongst the proprietors of Ulster to invade tenant-right, I do not believe there is a force at the disposal of the Horse Guards sufficient to keep the peace of the province; and, when we consider that all the improvements have been effected at the expense of the tenant, it is perfectly right that this tenant-

right should exist; his money has been laid out on the faith of compensation in that shape."

This, then, was the evidence of the north of Ireland, as to the value of this tenant-right. How often had he heard all the boast of the superior tranquillity of the north? It was because they were better treated by their landlords; and, generally speaking, there was a better feeling there towards the landlords, because the tenants were allowed to sell their tenant-rights. In the county of Tipperary there was an agrarian law, which was the law of ejectment; in the province of Ulster there was a general law giving the tenant valuable rights. He called upon the House to make their choice between the two. Now was the time for their choice. The country had arrived at a state in which it was necessary for something to be done. This miserable Coercion Bill would do nothing. It would do worse than nothing. There were many excellent landlords in Ireland, and there were numerous bad ones; numerous estates were in the hands of agents. The remedy which he asked for was, that the tenant-right of Ulster, which had been enjoyed in that province for 300 years, and which was available at this present moment, should be generally adopted throughout Ireland. He further required that a heavy tax should be levied upon absentees, and the election of county boards instead of the existing system of grand juries. He wanted the House to grant a strong, bold, manly, useful remedial measure. He would not weary the House by going into further details now; but, having pointed out the remedies, he called upon the British Parliament to grant them at once. Were they desirous of putting an end to these murders? Then it must be by removing the cause of murder. You could not destroy the effect without taking away the cause. He repeated, that the tranquillity of Ulster was owing to the enjoyment of tenant-right; where that right was taken away, the people were trodden under foot, and, in the words of Lord Clare, "ground to powder." The hon. and learned gentleman concluded by saying he had trespassed

upon the House at greater length than he intended, and he would close by moving the amendment which he had read.

Subject, STATE OF IRELAND ; Date, APRIL 24, 1846.

Talk was still the order of the day. Presumably honourable members thought that talking would have some mysterious effect in alleviating suffering, that is, if they thought at all. This was O'Connell's last speech, but one, yet even then, with his failing faculties, he was a power in the state, a power to be feared and courted, an instrument to be used, if he could only be cajoled into permitting it. The *Times* which could always stoop to flatter when convenient, actually denominated O'Connell "the Liberator" in the course of this session, recommended the Government to seek his assistance, and owned to the sudden knowledge that "the power of the executive had been felt in acts of harshness, seldom of beneficial or parental interference." Fear is a wonderful quickener of intellectual perception.

It was, in fact, suddenly discovered that the Irish people would be "filled with such gratitude, affection, and joy as no people had hitherto shown to their rulers," if the Government would "employ itself in improving the material and social condition of the people." Such discoveries are made occasionally, and put forward with an air of kindness and candour, which would quite deceive any person who was not aware how frequently they had been made before ; as if Ireland ever wanted anything from Government except to have her social and material condition improved. Of late years, certainly, some attempts have been made in this direction, but they have been made too tardily, too grudgingly, and too sparsely, to awaken any warm feelings of gratitude—acts which are only partial justice can scarcely be accepted as munificent gifts.

Mr. O'Connell—I am sure I have never been churlish in acknowledging the evident disposition of the Government to adopt measures to meet the present emergency. I should have been ashamed of myself had I been so ; but I have now to complain, I have to join in the general complaint, of the inactivity of the persons employed by Government in Ireland to superintend the distribution of food ; of their unnecessary diplomacy ; their wearisome reference from one to the other ; of the wanton delay in some localities ; the tediousness everywhere.

Why, can Government point to one single spot in which effectual relief has been administered? But while I say this, I must add that I was very glad to hear the hon. member for Northamptonshire (Mr. Stafford O'Brien) speak as he did in high praise of Lord Lincoln and his commission in Ireland, and I hope that Government will strengthen their hands. But, sir, I think that Government has fallen short—that more money—a great deal more money—will be necessary. I am not asking it as a favour. I am not here in mendicant form, appealing to you for alms for Ireland. Advance money. You have security for it—tax landed proprietors—take a discretionary power of taxation from the Coercion Bill, and employ it better. Send out persons to find out the situation and circumstances of each landlord, and tax him accordingly. Does the landlord, like the hon. member for Northamptonshire, do his duty—then tax him lightly; and has he neglected it—then tax him heavily. It may be said these are unconstitutional doctrines. Sir, the people are starving—they are dying; while you are here canvassing constitutional doctrines, they are perishing of hunger. Did you not hear the evidence given in the returns laid on the table of the House? Did you not hear how this family had but two, that family had but one day's supply—how another family, again, had been eight-and-forty hours without food—and how a further eight-and-forty hours' suffering would land them in their graves. Then, I say to Government, do not delay. Act firmly—act boldly. We have heard from every side declarations of benevolence to Ireland. Act, then. The House would not shrink from giving you an indemnity. But let there be no longer unnecessary delay. If you cannot meet my challenge to point out a single place where you have given effectual relief—if it be true that not a shilling has been advanced—then for Heaven's sake begin. Begin to-morrow morning; strengthen the hands of your officials in Dublin Castle. Let not a day, not an hour, be lost. I may be told that I am throwing out opinions contrary to those I have always entertained on the subject of outdoor

relief. I do not shrink from my old view of the subject. I shall think outdoor relief but another name for the confiscation of property; but in the present state of Ireland, I prefer confiscation to letting the people die of starvation. Make the experiment for one year—administer for this year outdoor relief; tax the landholder for this—you can relax next year—but this is the time for making the experiment. Don't bring your Coercion Bill against the poorer classes—coerce the landlords. Compel them to prevent the people dying of hunger; it is necessary to compel them. I do not disparage the landlords. There are abundance of good landlords; and abundance of bad landlords; of clearing landlords; of destroying (not angels, but) landlords in Ireland. I do not commit myself to the doctrine of outdoor relief. It will be seen that I have very strong objections to it, but none of them apply on this occasion—in this emergency. Sir, I was sorry to hear my hon. friend, the member for Limerick, so adverse to the total repeal of the Corn Laws. My conviction is that nothing can do good to Ireland but that repeal. The existence of the Corn Laws has done us no good. Can any man contradict that? They have been concomitant with increasing misery—concomitant with increasing destitution; and therefore if any man praise the Corn Laws to me, he must draw on his imagination, for as to Ireland the facts of the case are against him. Corn Law repeal would increase manufacturing enterprise; it would raise wages; agriculture cannot raise them, the Corn Law has not raised them. They say the Corn Bill was passed to keep up wages. Is there any country where wages are so low? Notoriously none. The only chance of raising them is in the repeal of the Corn Laws, and I wish to Heaven you would set about it at once.

Subject, DESTITUTE PERSONS (IRELAND) BILL;

Date, FEBRUARY 8, 1847.

This was O'Connell's last speech. It was but imperfectly heard in the House as the opening sentences show. His last words are a cry for help for Ireland.

Mr. O'Connell was understood to say, that, in the first of the Irish Bills which had been submitted to the House—namely, the Indemnity Bill—he heartily and entirely agreed. Much had been said against the Labour-rate Act, but, he thought, unjustly. That Act had been of immense advantage in many baronies in Ireland, especially in the west, and many of the works effected under it had been exceedingly useful. It had not been of so much use in other parts of Ireland, he believed, where such public works were less wanted; but where they were necessary it had been very useful. The next Bill was the one for affording temporary assistance to the labouring poor. He could not say he entirely approved of that measure, but he should vote for it nevertheless, as he was ready to support any Bill which would afford one additional means of relief in the present calamity. The next Bill was one for the relief of the destitute poor in Ireland. He was afraid the House was not sufficiently aware of the extent of the misery; he did not think the members were sufficiently impressed with the horrors of the situation of the people of Ireland; he did not think they understood the miseries—the accumulation of miseries—under which the people were at present suffering. It had been estimated that 5,000 adults and 10,000 children had already perished from famine, and that 25 per cent. of the whole population would perish unless the House should afford effective relief. They would perish of famine and disease unless the House did something speedy and efficacious—not doled out in small sums, not in private and individual subscriptions, but by some great act of national generosity, calculated upon a broad and liberal scale. If this course were not pursued, Parliament was responsible for the loss of 25

per cent. of the population of Ireland. He assured the House most solemnly that he was not exaggerating; he could establish all he said by many and many painful proofs, and the necessary result must be typhus fever, which, in fact, had broken out, and was desolating whole districts. It left alive only one in ten of those it attacked. This fearful disorder ere long would spread to the upper classes; the inhabitants of England would not escape its visitations, for it would be brought over by the miserable wretches who escaped from the other side of the channel. The calamity would be scattered over the whole empire, and no man would be safe from it. He repeated that two millions of human beings would be destroyed, if relief were not speedily and effectually afforded. It had been asked why the rich Irish did not relieve the poor? They had relieved them. It would be seen by the reports already before the House, that a large body of the Irish people were always on the verge of starvation. Another report, more recently made, had confirmed this statement, and established that in ordinary years great numbers were in destitution. But the destitution of the potato crop had occasioned a positive annihilation of food, and the people were starving in shoals, in hundreds—aye, in thousands and millions. Parliament was bound, then, to act not only liberally but generously, to find out the means of putting a stop to this terrible disaster. It was asserted that the Irish landlords did not do their duty. Several of them had done their duty—others had not; and, considering the extraordinary exigency of the case, his plan was to arm Government with more real power to apply to the purpose all the sums they deemed necessary. They ought instantly to carry out the mode of relief they thought necessary, responsible indeed to the House, but not fettered by the strict letter of the law. He wanted to see the House generously confiding in ministers, let them be chosen from which side of the House they might. The facts, as he well knew, were more terrific than they had been yet stated—the necessity was more urgent. He had not said one word to produce irritation; he had not uttered one word of reproach; and, without doing so, he

called upon Parliament to appoint commissioners to make inquiries in all parts of Ireland into the circumstances of those who were able to give—to specify and to name them, and to assess them for so much as they ought to contribute. A decisive measure of that sort should have his hearty support. Let every man's means be ascertained, and let the tribunal he would erect have the power of inflicting taxation. To inflict taxation without representation had not been unusual in Ireland, and the Grand Jury system was one of taxation without representation. The patience of the people of Ireland could not be too much admired. It had been exhibited on all occasions, and the forbearance of the lower orders, considering their almost intolerable privations, was wonderful. It was, however, possible that they might be driven from misery to madness; and as to the levying of rates, it was at present impossible. As to the reimbursing of England for her advances, he contended that she would be no loser at the present crisis any more than she had been on former occasions. He maintained that England had been a gainer by her loans to Ireland. He again assured the House that the lamentably destitute condition of the people, afflicted with poverty and visited by disease, was insupportable; and he called upon Parliament to interpose generously, munificently—he would say enormously—for the rescue of his country. Recollect how incumbered was the property of Ireland, how many of her estates were in chancery, how many were in the hands of trustees. She was in their hands—in their power. If they did not save her she could not save herself. He solemnly called on them to recollect that he predicted with the sincerest conviction that one-fourth of her population would perish unless Parliament came to their relief.

PUBLIC LETTERS.





PUBLIC LETTERS.

NOTE TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY'S LETTER.

IT may seem strange to those who are ignorant how this controversy arose, that I should reply to the second letter of Lord Shrewsbury without taking any notice of the first. I wish such persons to know the fact. The first letter was on a subject totally different from the second. It related to miraculous marks appearing on each of two pious women in the Tyrol, resembling the wounds our ever adorable Redeemer received in his awful passion. Lord Shrewsbury has in that letter given his evidence in favour of the authenticity of these miracles, and adduced also the testimony, to the same effect, of other respectable persons. It is a mere question of fact, depending at present upon human testimony; a matter of fact which every Catholic is of course at liberty to believe or disbelieve according to his own judgment.

For my own part, I confess I think the evidence quite sufficient to satisfy my mind of the reality of these miracles. It seems to me to require something like habitual incredulity to enable a man to resist the evidence of the persons who attest the fact. But still I must say, I think Lord Shrewsbury much to blame. He ought not to have brought forward these miracles

before the English public, and left them where they are, the objects of much ribaldry and insult. He is, I must say, having gone so far, bound to go farther; and to have a farther and perfectly impartial investigation on the spot.

What I should suggest is this: that he should endeavour to procure two intelligent gentlemen from the "Tractarians" of Oxford, and two others from the "Evangelicals" of Cambridge. To pay the expenses of their journey ought to be a pleasure to him. Let him lead them to the spot, and there with them investigate each case fully. I do believe that the result would be favourable to his views. But I really think he ought to have some investigation of this kind, as well for the sake of his own character as for that of Catholicity; though the latter cannot suffer by a mistake of his on such a point, even if it be a mistake.

LETTER TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY, &c. &c.

MY LORD,

I love the Jesuits—I admire the Jesuits—the greatest benefactors to religion and to literature that the world ever saw. There is a shrewd compactness in the way they embody common sense, greatly to be prized. One of their maxims is, "that there is no theologian so dangerous to religion as a very pious fool." The Jesuit who uses this phrase, does not intend personal offence to any individual, nor, certainly, do I! I use the expression, not as a description or designation: but, admitting to the fullest extent your lordship's piety, I give it as a caution. Do, my lord, I implore you, beware how you mix up foolishness with your sentiments of devotion!

But whatever course you shall please to take, you have addressed me so often in your pamphlet, and with such scant courtesy, that you compel me to reply. My complaints are many, but this is my first grievance. I might bear other evils, but I cannot endure that you should have loudly entered your protest, even

“upon religious grounds,” against the abolition of the Corn Laws. You have, for the first time, arrayed Catholicity against a concession to the poor and the starving; you have summoned the English Catholics; and you have more than insinuated, even by the multiplication of your titles of honour, a call on the Catholics of Ireland, to join with you in the sustainment of those laws, which have been characterised (and I think justly) as “the plunder of the poor for the benefit of the rich.”

I bitterly deplore that you should take such a part. I pay the most unfeigned respect to your motives; to your charitable disposition; to your animated religious feelings; but I am thoroughly convinced that you act most unwisely—that you stain and tarnish, and, I fear, deeply injure the sacred cause of Catholicity.

The reasons of my convictions are these. For the first time in the modern history of Catholicity, are the English Catholics called upon, as such, to take part in the political pravity of supporting taxation, and of transferring their attachment from statesmen who have ever been their friends to public men who—we are gratuitously told—are to be no longer their enemies. For the first time, you introduce politics into the very sanctuary. And what politics? politics whose frightful consequence is to enhance the price of bread to those who have but little to eat! and to sustain in office the narrow-minded haters of Catholicity—the men who have trafficked on that hatred, until they jobbed on it into power!

You would array the Catholics in this most unseemly warfare; an inglorious warfare even if successful. Not like the Talbots in their battles of old, you, my lord, with pure intentions, but alas! with perverted ingenuity, would strew your battlefield with the carcasses of starved manufacturers.

You have indeed placed yourself in a deplorable position. Because, although it must be admitted by everybody who knows anything of you, that you are reasonably free from sordid or selfish motives, yet your position is that of a man who

contends against feeding the poor, in order that he may increase his own means, and augment his own rents, and for the accumulation of his own wealth. But by what modes of action? gracious heaven! by taking from the poor more money for his bread than that poor person would be otherwise obliged to pay for it! By coming to the table of the wretched widow with a small fixed income, and telling her and her children that before they taste their bread, there must be a toll paid to your lordship and your co-proprietors of the land! and that the crumbs that are greedily devoured upon her table shall be fewer in number, lest your class should not have so much money as at present to put into your landlord pocket.

This, my lord, is the unhappy position in which you are placed. I unfeignedly assure you, I deplore—I bitterly deplore—that so charitable and benevolent a man as you are should have placed yourself in so unamiable a position. But I ought to weep more bitterly at the position in which you place Catholicity; in which you, a moral and religious man, place the faith you profess—the glorious faith of your fathers. Catholicity was ever the promoter of every species of charity. It allures by the brightest reward, it commands under the most awful sanction, to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, to visit the prisoner, to assuage the sufferings of the sick. Such are the “good works” which (duly performed) are, according to Catholic doctrine, meritorious in the concerns of eternity.

Yet, in what an attitude do you call upon the Catholics of England to place themselves? The poor man is sick from the faintness arising from his scanty food; and the English Catholics are to proclaim, under your lordship’s auspices, that his bread shall be more scarce to him! The operative is naked, and you call upon the English Catholics to tell him that his bread shall be so dear that all his earnings shall scarce suffice for food, and that there shall be no residue to purchase clothing. As to imprisonment, your poorhouses are prisons; and, alas! my lord, you taunt with insult those who, like me, do not relish the imprisonment of a poorhouse. As to the hungry; why, the

Gospel precepts are to be worked out in favour of the hungry, by making their food as scarce and as dear as the suffering multitude will endure.

Had you written and published your pamphlet, as a private individual of ancient family and high rank; had you published it as a landlord, or as a peer of Parliament; had you confined it to arguments (such as they are), to statistics (such as they may be), or to political economy (such as it ought to be), you might, my lord, at least I hope and believe you might, as far as I am concerned, have indulged yourself in as many insults and insinuations respecting me as you pleased, unscathed and unanswered. But your trumpet-sounds call Catholicity to battle along with you.

My complaint ought to be (and my chief complaint is), that you have sought to array Catholicity on the worst side of the worst cause that public penman ever supported; that you have thrown into the scale of the rich and the lordly, against the lowly and the poor, that influence which your ancient rank and high station, your generous and benevolent private character, entitled you to possess among the Catholics of England, in order—you have done so, in order to induce them to adopt the worst part, and to be solicitous about bad things.

This, however, my lord, is too sacred a cause to be abandoned. There is an awful duty to be performed. You shall not, my lord, you shall not bring Catholicity into the ranks of the ungenerous and the sordid. You may go yourself. You may be found (alas, the day!) among those ungenial ranks! But Catholicity still shall elevate her heavenly banner in her proper station. Even I, ungifted as I am, will wipe off the stain you have flung upon her escutcheon; and proclaim that Catholicity still is, as she ever was, at the side of the people; the mitigator of poverty and the comforter of the distressed; the opponent of aristocratic selfishness; the true guardian of the poor of the Lord.

See, great earl! what a glorious example the Catholic farmers of Ireland have set to men in higher station. It has often

been said that the Irish head is not unfrequently wrong, but that the Irish heart is always in the right. I doubt the former—I know the truth of the latter assertion. The Irish Catholic farmers did not enter into any minute details. They knew full well by the experience of every one of them, that the oft-repeated allegation that the Corn Laws increase the rate of wages, was totally false; the wages in Ireland being of the lowest; they knew that cheap bread does not make wages diminish. They, the Irish farmers, knew full well that “nothing can be politically right that is morally wrong.” And they, with cordial unanimity, supported the abolishers of the Corn Laws. My lord, I mean not to offend you, but I glory in the contrast between you and the Irish Catholic farmers.

Permit me, my lord, to cite my own situation as a public man, as one of the proofs that vindicate Catholicity from the selfishness of Corn Law advocacy. I have ever been, upon principle, and for reasons of humanity, the decided advocate of the total abolition of the tax upon bread. A fixed duty would, in my mind, be nothing more than a fixed injustice; and if, having no other choice, I am found voting for the eight-shilling duty, it is only as a substitute for the greater and the gambling iniquity of the sliding scale, and as an instalment of that justice, which cannot be complete without a total abolition of all toll or duty upon human food, whether that tax be imposed to relieve the wants of the State, or for the more glaring iniquitous purpose of augmenting the wealth of the landlords.

Notwithstanding these my opinions, I am at the present moment the representative of two of the largest agricultural communities in Ireland; a significant proof of their coincidence in my views, and approbation of my opinions.

If I have been bitterly ashamed of your lordship's attempts to rank the Catholics on the wrong side in this question, my dissatisfaction does not rest there. I blush deeply at the paucity, and I am sorry to say it, the shallow sophistry of what you appear to consider arguments in support of the Corn Laws. The grain of wheat, in the shape of reason, it is scarcely possible to

sift out of the anomalous heaps of chaff, of the same colour and almost in the same quality, stuffed now in the text and now in the notes with which you have overlaid the subject.

Your principal argument consists in asking, "Why manufacturers of various articles should enjoy their protecting duties of from 20 to 30 per cent. against foreign competition, and yet the manufacturer of corn be left without protection?"

I cannot conceal my surprise that anything so unfair, so replete with mistake of facts, should emanate from your lordship. Are you not aware, surely you must know, that our manufacturers export from England and sell to foreign nations, probably to the value of sixty millions of pounds sterling per annum of their manufactured goods? That is, they undersell the people of foreign countries in their own markets to that extent. To talk, therefore, of protection for manufacturers under such circumstances is really, my lord, to talk not wisely. The protection may be in the Statute Book; but it is as insignificant as if witchcraft were there! Your argument thus is destroyed at the first blush. There is, however, something worse behind; because it is impossible but you must know that the petitions of the manufacturers, the resolutions of great meetings in particular localities, and of delegates from many places, as well as the unanimous voice of the Anti-Corn Law League, with that exceedingly able man, Mr. Cobden, at their head, have, with one consent, disclaimed every species of fiscal protection. This disclaimer of protection has been made so loudly and so often, that you cannot possibly have been ignorant of it. And yet, my lord, you have thought it fair, and right, and honest, and, above all, religious! to found your reasoning, involving the interests of millions, and, in particular, involving the feeding of the poor, upon the basis of an immaterial fact; and which, even if it were material, is totally disclaimed by the manufacturing interests, who have called on the Legislature to abolish equally all manufacturing as well as agricultural protection.

The next thing that resembles argument is your allegation, in substance thus—"that a monstrous proposition is set up on

the plea of religion—namely, that a large portion of our corn-growing land should be thrown out of cultivation, and the labourers thereon thrown upon the towns" (p. 39).

I have stripped this assertion of some of the poetic imagining with which you have surrounded it. I wish—I heartily wish—I could admit it to be common sense. It is not so; but it has a still greater defect—it is not true! Nobody asserts—not even the "sectarian ministers" whom you charge with combination and agitation—that corn-growing land should be thrown out of cultivation. It is not sought for that any land capable of producing corn, with all the advantages of the home market, should be other than corn-growing land. That which is insisted upon is widely different, and you ought to know it. It is insisted that such land as now grows corn solely by means of an expenditure, which is prompted and compensated for by the unnaturally high price of corn in England, created by the bread-tax, should not have that stimulant for the misapplication of its purposes, but should be made to produce other articles of consumption, for which that land is naturally adapted. In the healthy state of the agricultural trade, every species of land will be made to produce that which it is best suited by nature to produce. There is no danger of a want of consumers for every species of agricultural produce. In England the population rapidly increases. You never will want consumers of the produce of any land cultivated as its nature requires.

In another passage you bring to the aid of exceedingly defective logic your Catholic and Christian faith. The passage is this—"That the prosperity of both classes (the agricultural and manufacturing) is a reciprocal benefit cannot be denied, and each ought to look for support from the other." Quite true. It should not only be fair and just, but reciprocal. Your lordship's reciprocity, however, savours of what is called an Hibernian quality, and is "a reciprocity all on one side." You continue—"But the idea of sacrificing the whole landed property of the country to satisfy the mania for commercial speculation is, indeed, anti-Catholic and anti-Christian."

No less! Anti-Catholic and anti-Christian!

For shame, my lord! Oh, for shame! How could you combine the idea of Catholic Christianity with the selfish and, I regret to say, essentially sordid notions that were passing through your mind when you wrote that phrase? Sacrifice of landed property, forsooth! Answer me—what landed property, or what luxury arising from your landed property do we ask you to sacrifice? Not any term or estate in your lands; not your splendid mansions, or your luxuriant gardens; not your fisheries or your graperies; not your pinneries or your pheasant preserves; not your pampered horses or your stall-fed oxen or sheep. Feed and fatten on these, until appetite, provoked by every variety of delicacy, is satiated, or at least wearied. We require not your green crops or turnip heaps; not your hay or your grass. No—not your wheat, not your oats, nor your barley. Send these, as our manufacturers do their produce, to every corner of the globe where you can find buyers. Send them to the home market or the foreign market, as best suits your interest or your fancy, or your caprice. Or, if your wantonness makes you careless, destroy them if you please; or consume them, either yourselves or by your servants, or even by your pigs and poultry. In short, you are free to use or to abuse your lands and their produce at discretion or caprice.

What property of yours, then, is to be sacrificed? I will tell you—and you ought to blush that it should be necessary for me to tell you! The property of which we demand from you the sacrifice is nothing in the world but “the privilege to pillage the poorer classes of the community.” What we desire to take away from you is, the powers which the Corn Laws iniquitously give you, to compel the operative to pay for your corn a larger price than that which he could get the same article for elsewhere; and yet you assume the air of an awful theologian, and tell us that to take away that power is anti-Christian and anti-Catholic.

The wealthy nobleman, “clothed in purple and fine linen,” may credit you. He may imagine the Catholic religion was so

good a thing for the aristocratic classes that he ought to promote it. But the poor, starving mechanic, who, by reason of your law, has a slice of bread the less to give to each of his children, will despise your reasoning, and may, perhaps, hate that form of faith which you obtrude between his hungry family and a full meal. Should he hear your real character; should he hear that you really are, as an individual, humane and generous, bountiful and good, may he not on that very account form a loathing against that religion—in itself pure and undefiled—which thus seems to sear your conscience, and which makes you—even you !—an apostle of starvation and a preacher of monopoly?

I believe I have now touched upon all that savours of reasoning in your support of the Corn Laws. You have, it is true, mixed up many details of the statistics of corn and currency. But, even in that mist of figures, with which you so uselessly surround yourself, the natural benevolence of your disposition breaks out. There is not that iron tenacity about you which marks the Dukes of Buckingham and Richmond. You are ready to relax the pressure upon the working classes; and that poor and paltry concession, which some others also are ready to make for the purpose, by mitigating harshness to continue delusion, you, from better and purer motives, are willing to concede. Oh! how I should desire to make you perceive that even the concession so wrung from others, bespeaks the foregone conclusion—that the Bread Tax is in its nature too oppressive to be much longer endured in its present form and pressure.

I do not reply to your statistics on corn and currency. I would not take the trouble of confuting some conclusions or elucidating some mistakes. I leave you the full benefit of having them uncommented on and unreplyed to. Yet, I fearlessly assert that, even you yourself cannot be without some consciousness that the Corn Laws are un-Christian and un-Catholic, because they are unjust and oppressive. The matter lies in a narrow compass.

First—The Corn Laws operate to prevent the workmen in

manufactories from earning wages, inasmuch as they prevent the agricultural countries in Europe and America, which want our manufactures, from having a medium of exchange whereby they would obtain these manufactures. If they were allowed to send corn here, they would exchange that corn (or exchange the price of it, which is the same thing) for English goods. Thus there would be achieved for England a good with a double aspect. First, it would be good for the English to get an increased quantity of manufactures. But you, my lord, stand in the midst. You will not let the increased food come in; and you thereby prevent the increased quantity of manufactures from going out. And all this mischief you proclaim and sustain, with "religion" dropping from your lips in almost every sentence!

Secondly—The crowning injustice of the Corn Laws consists in this: the operative is indebted to Providence for the strength which enables him to labour, and to his own industry for the skill with which he applies that strength. His property is his labour, composed of two elements—strength and skill. There is not in the world a more rightful property. His title is infinitely beyond that derived from the casualties of modern descent, or the chances of ancient plunder. With his skill and labour he has earned money—a limited sum of money it must necessarily be; he wants food for his sustentation and support. He comes into the market for food. It would be the greatest tyranny and iniquity to prevent his buying that food in the market. It is a tyranny and an iniquity, less only in degree but the same in principle, to interpose a tax or other impediment which compels him to purchase a lesser quantity than he wants, and than he otherwise would be able to purchase. The principle is identically the same; but it would amount in morals to murder, by actual starvation, totally to prohibit him. Nor does it appear to me that the guilt is much mitigated by the fact that the lesser process is more slow in its operation, and does not so immediately cause death, and only anticipated the period of his demise by the more tedious mode of insufficient sustenance.

The provision tax, therefore, is in its nature most criminal. It is murderous. It is the most direct violation of the first principles of justice. It is not mitigated by the fact that such tax is applied to the necessities of the State and the maintenance of the laws, and thus confers some benefit, however remote, upon each individual in that State. The thing is in itself so radically oppressive and unjust that it is incapable of moral mitigation. However, this tax, though not to be mitigated in its severity by any circumstance, is yet capable of an enormous aggravation of its criminality. This aggravation arises when the tax is not for the benefit of the State or for any public purpose, but is a favour and a benefit given to a particular class of society; when it is levied—not for the expenditure of the Government, but for the sole profit of a privileged, and insomuch a plundering class; when, in short, it is a protection to a particular interest. The protected person thus, by the voice of the Corn Law, addresses the workman: “You shall not buy your breakfast, though you have by your own hand earned money to buy it with, until you have first paid me a heavy tax for liberty to purchase!”

Bread, my lord, is at this moment, in round numbers, at Paris, fivepence—in reality, fivepence and a fraction—for the loaf. A loaf of the same size, weight, and quality costs in England tenpence. The charges of bringing over from Paris to England the materials to make that loaf would not increase its price one penny. Thus the English artizan, and every English poor person, is defrauded of fourpence out of ten pence in the price of his loaf. And that fourpence is the plain and manifest plunder committed by the grower of English wheat, under the sanction and by the authority of the Corn Law.

I do not mean the least discourtesy to Lord Shrewsbury, but I cannot qualify my terms. This is a robbery—the worst species of robbery. It is the robbery of the poorer classes to enrich the wealthier. You may talk and write about it what you please—it cannot and will not be long endured.

The English people must not be led away by my Lord Shrewsbury, or anybody else, to believe that the Catholic reli-

gion sanctions this robbery, or that the great bulk of the Catholics, even of England, are favourable to this injustice. Self-interest may delude a great man, here and there; associating with other Corn Law plunderers, he may familiarize his mind to the injustice; but the Catholic religion is by no means responsible for his errors. On the contrary, those errors are in direct contradiction to the principles of that holy religion—a religion promotive of all good works, and the instigator of every charity.

Having thus disposed of your very futile attempt to sustain the hard-hearted iniquity of the Corn Laws, I turn with alacrity to other topics of your pamphlet. I will first take up your solicitation to the Catholics to forsake the Whigs, now that they are defeated, and to give in their adhesion to the Tories, now that they are in power. You, with much *naïveté*, ask, “Why should we follow the fallen fortunes of the Whigs?” Strange chivalry, gentle reader, for an Earl of ancient fame!

You really overrate your powers of seduction, and your capacity to create wholesale desertion. Even the question of creating political renegades smacks, in your language—pardon me!—of something like religious pretension. It would seem that you would endeavour to make it a point of conscience that the Catholics should abandon all political gratitude, forsake the fallen fortunes of the Whigs, and adopt, with a servile alacrity, the politics of the Tories.

Here, again, the Corn Laws seem to obtrude, for it is impossible to discover any other assignable motive for the desertion—in its own nature unprincipled—of the friends of your earlier political life; or for your embracing the malignant foes of your caste and creed, with a rapidity more remarkable for its abruptness than for its delicacy or decency.

This, indeed, is strange. This whirling rapidity of transition, from the avowed love of gradual amelioration to the determined resistance to every salutary change (for that is Toryism), would appear almost miraculous; but for the political creed, which in your second page, you announce, in all the emphasis of italics hashed up with capitals.

That creed may well indeed be called the slippery scale of politics. There is no political conscience that it may not exactly suit. It is everything and it is nothing! Here is your magnanimous profession of political faith; I give it verbatim. As a matter of curiosity it deserves to be preserved; embalmed amidst the no-meaning absurdities of plausible nothingness! You say, "I always was, and I hope I always shall be, a Whig; by which I mean, an advocate for the greatest possible degree of civil and religious liberty, and the greatest possible amount of religious toleration, consistent with the institutions, and the condition of the country."

There it is—a precious document!—a document which the monster, Emperor Nicholas, who, in one of his sanguinary freaks, swept the streets of Warsaw of, and bore for ever away, the children of Polish mothers; and in another fantastic barbarity, compelled nearly one million of his subjects to apostatize from the Catholic religion; he, even he, might sign this creed, together with the Earl of Shrewsbury. For he, too, will give all the civil liberty, and all the religious toleration which he deems consistent with the institutions and the condition of his country.

There is no tyrant, no bigot, who may not cry, Amen! to your lordship's creed. They are all ready to go every length for civil and religious liberty, provided they be allowed to qualify and to limit it to that which they deem consistent with the institutions, and, above all, with the condition of the country. Shakspeare says that your "if" is a great pacificator. Your "condition" is a great neutralizer of all that is valuable in your first assertion. If any measure to promote civil liberty or religious toleration be asked for, the negative reply at once may be, "It is not consistent with the institutions of the country; the country is not in a condition for such a change."

Really, my lord, it is surprising how a man of your understanding should give us, with all the pride, pomp, and circumstance of typographical dignity, such a bundle of unmeaning

words. The efficacy with which they can contradict each other renders the words devoid of any real meaning.

Surely, you cannot have forgotten that these were the very same cant phrases, with which we were met and opposed while struggling for Emancipation. We were met by the bigots and oppressors then with the declaration of a great wish to satisfy all his Majesty's subjects in their demands; but how could Emancipation exist with the institutions of the country? And, then, only think of the condition of the country! England was not in a condition to suffer such a change! Such was then the cry of all our enemies. And the very topics with which you qualify your opinions would have kept the Catholics of both kingdoms in thralldom for perhaps a century to come, if it had not been for one of us, my lord—you or I—I give you the choice to say which!

I cannot however pass without censure one expression in your creed. Nor can I talk of it with sufficient abhorrence, without violating that personal courtesy which I owe, and am most willing to maintain, towards your lordship. I allude to the word "toleration." Toleration means "permission," "sufferance." He who claims to be "tolerated" gives up his right of self-assertion. He who talks of "tolerating," assumes that he has the right to refuse permission. Now, my lord, I require the permission of no man, I despise the toleration of any man, for my worship of the adorable Creator and Redeemer, in that pure form in which my conscientious conviction tells me that the truth of God abides. It is my right; it is your right; it is the right of every Christian man! In fact, the word "toleration" admits the principle of persecution. No man can talk of tolerating another, unless in the assertion of the right to persecute. He who admits he has no right to persecute, gives up, necessarily, all title to tolerate. And I, as a Catholic, abhor and repudiate persecution; and, on behalf of the Catholic body, I reject toleration. Insisting on my own right, at my own awful responsibility to my Creator and Lord, and to Him alone, to worship Him in the full sincerity of

conscientious belief, I assert for every other Christian man precisely the same right at the same awful responsibility.

As I have already, I do hope, cleansed the sacred banner of Catholicity from the stain which you had by your bread tax advocacy flung upon it, so again do I brighten up that banner from the obscuration of your odious word "toleration."

I must not, however, be misunderstood. There is not in this, my assertion of freedom of conscience, the slightest tinge of indifferentism in the matter of religion. On the contrary, no man can be more thoroughly convinced than I am, that it is impossible for anything to be of so much importance as the truth of the Christian faith; or that nothing can be comparable in magnitude to the spiritual obligation upon everybody to believe and profess the true faith. But this is a question between man and his God. The obligation of belief is not to our fellow-man, but to the Creator of all. And the awful responsibility of which I speak, relates to an eternity of weal or of woe; and to nothing that human government can give or take away.

From this all-important subject I now descend to the ludicrous nature of your profession of political faith. It is like a nose of wax; it would fit any face. Or perhaps it resembles more the pledge of an anti-teetotaler, who made boast that he never would again get drunk in any man's company, unless he should be a friend, a relation, an acquaintance, or a stranger.

It is, after all, not so much your political non-opinions that I arraign. It is the ungenerous counsel that you give to the English Catholics. It is, permit me to add, the ungenerous example—in speaking to any other man, I would call it the paltry example—which you hold forth to the British Catholics. You took your place among the partisans of the late Administration, so long as they were in office, so long as they basked in royal favour, and that the Sovereign had it in her power to continue them around her. You were their prosperity friend. But now they have fallen into adversity; now that the Queen has

been compelled to send them back again into the ranks of private life; now that they have no longer ministerial rank, station, or dignity; now that the winter's gale is upon them; you—their “friend” in their season of prosperity—clap up your helm, sail in the squadron, and elevate the flag of their fortunate enemies, exclaiming, “Why should we bind ourselves to the fallen fortunes of the Whigs?”

This assuredly is not dignified, or generous, or noble. You are disinterested. But, yet, what encouragement does not your example give to the selfish, to the servile, and even to the treacherous?

Believe me, it little becomes the name of Talbot to exhibit an un-Catonian specimen of preference given to the victorious, but worse cause; and the abandonment of the better, though defeated party!

Judging by your conduct to my humble and insignificant self, I should be forced to the conclusion that gratitude was not, in your opinion, one of the cardinal virtues; at least that it was not an English Catholic virtue; but was rather a quality deserving little estimation. I should, indeed, have feared that this was a judgment formed by me in my natural prejudice in my own cause, if I were not irresistibly compelled to perceive that ingratitude, dark ingratitude, pervades all that portion of your pamphlet which calls on British Catholics to desert the unlucky Whigs and to join the lucky Tories.

It is impossible to conceal or to deny this ingratitude. Yes, my lord, it is, I am sorry to say, too obvious. It is, in its nature, too discreditable to be endured in silence.

No man did describe—few men have the ability to describe—in terms of such glowing eloquence, of bitter grief, and even of agony, as you did, my lord, describe the oppressive degradation and contumely which were inflicted on you, the premier Earl of England, and upon the English Catholics in their native land by the iniquitous “Penal Laws.”

Your plaintive cry was this—it bewailed the following grievances; take them in numerical order, as they have been all since redressed:—

1. "A Catholic cannot sit or vote in the House of Peers, and is thus deprived of his most valuable birthright.
2. "A Catholic Commoner cannot sit or vote in the House of Commons.
3. "A Catholic freeholder may be prevented from voting at elections for members.
4. "A Catholic cannot sit in the Privy Council.
5. "He cannot be a minister of the Crown.
6. "He cannot be a judge.
7. "He cannot hold any office in any spiritual, equity, or common law court.
8. "He cannot become a King's counsel.
9. "He cannot hold any office in any of the corporations.
10. "He cannot marry either a Protestant or a Catholic, unless the ceremony be performed by a Protestant clergyman.
11. "He cannot settle real or personal property for the use of his Church.
12. "Nor for the use of Catholic schools, nor for any other purposes of the Catholic religion."

You added this complaint:—

"From early youth to the last stage of existence, we, Catholics are doomed to bear about us a painful feeling of inferiority and undeserved reproach."

In a different passage you justly complained thus:—

"We are worse than aliens in our native land; inasmuch as that an alien is under the protection of an equal law, which we are not. If an alien be a delinquent, or a presumed delinquent, he is entitled to a trial by his peers; and half those peers are his own countrymen, and of his own religion; whereas our delinquency, imaginary as it is, is tried by men who have no fellow-feeling with us, and who convict us upon evidence collected, produced, and attested by themselves. We are compelled to endure the stings of insult and of calumny, frequently without either the opportunity of reply, or the hope of redress by law. We are denied the privilege of the meanest malefactor; that of being confronted with our accusers. We are excluded from the places in which the most galling and most influential of the calumnies pronounced against us are uttered; and if we dare to answer them elsewhere, our calumniators may sit in judgment upon us, and punish our audacity with imprisonment."—*Reasons for not taking the Test*, Second Edition, p. 13.

Protesting against that infliction, labouring against the

iniquity, at the period of your unjust degradation and adverse fortune, was to be found Lord Melbourne, the late Prime Minister.

Advocating the cause of justice and liberality to you, in your then inferior and suffering state, was ranged the manly eloquence of the Marquis of Lansdowne, another member of the late Cabinet.

At that dark period of your political history, Lord John Russell, the late ministerial leader of the House of Commons, sustained with a power of oratory and argument almost unequalled, your interests, and vindicated your rights.

Need I remind you, my lord, of the sincere zeal and accumulated services in the Catholic cause, of the Ponsonby family? and in particular of that excellent nobleman, Lord Duncannon, another member of the late Cabinet?

Is it necessary to recal to your memory the sincere zeal and power of eloquence of Sir John Hobhouse, another member of the late Cabinet? Why should I unnecessarily multiply individual instances? Was not every man of the late Cabinet, who had a seat in Parliament before Emancipation, the decided friend, advocate, and supporter of our cause? The decided enemy of the Tory iniquity under which we suffered?

They were your friends, my lord; your true, your trusty, your tried friends. Your friends in the day of your need—in the day of your distress. Your friends, when you could not help yourself. They were the enemies of your enemies; the assertors of your rights; aye, my lord, they were more; they were the vindicators of your unjustly tarnished honour, and of the principle of your calumniated religion.

One thought more. So far from the members of the late Administration having supported the Catholic cause from motives of party interest, or from the ambition of attaining the honours and emoluments of office, the fact is, that they actually and voluntarily placed themselves under the ban of the Crown. They, with full consciousness, exposed themselves to the personal hatred, and even malignity of two monarchs, George III.

and George IV. They, with full knowledge of the consequences, raised, by their advocacy of Catholic rights, an almost impassable barrier against the enjoyment of the favour of the Crown, and the rewards, honours, and dignities of ministerial power. They knew full well that, if circumstances forced them on the King, he would soon find means, as he did on one remarkable occasion, of dismissing them from office.

They were, in short, my lord, the martyrs of your cause. They were your political martyrs.

Turn we now on the other side. Let us pass in array the chiefs of those on whose behalf you have now rushed into print, and whose power you have used all your persuasive influences to support and consolidate.

Let us select one of the leaders of the new Cabinet—the lauded of Lord Shrewsbury, the right hon. Henry Goulburn. Was he, my lord, sensible of the cruelty and injustice under which you and the Catholics laboured? Had he the feeling of the wrong—the sense of the iniquity perpetrated against you? No, my lord! no. He rejoiced in that wrong; he gloried in that iniquity. He would have continued it to the present day. His only regret was that the injustice ceased—that the wrong was alleviated. It is his great regret to the present moment. He actually resigned office—and no man ever loved office, perhaps, so much as Goulburn; certainly not more. Yes. He resigned his office when the Cabinet to which he belonged had determined to grant Emancipation. Nor has he ever relaxed his undying hatred of Pope and Popery. Nor has ever one word betrayed him into the disgraceful inconsistency of favouring the progress of liberality.

I will tell you an anecdote of Goulburn, whilst he was the Orange patronising Secretary in Ireland. There is an Italian—you may have heard of him—named Bianconi; a man of the greatest worth and integrity. He came here a friendless and almost penniless stranger. He has acquired a large independent fortune by opening up all parts of Ireland to very cheap and very expeditious travelling, by maintaining upon the roads

what are termed jaunting-cars. He had purchased stations, and built stables for his horses in many localities. In a short time he discovered, from some of the persons in the employment unjustly retaining possession of the buildings, that being an alien and a Catholic, he had no legal power to evict the fraudulent occupier, or to assert dominion over his own property.

He was a Catholic. Had he been a foreign Protestant, no matter from what country, by landing in Ireland he would have been naturalised, and have possessed all the 'privileges of a British subject. But he was a Catholic; and therefore he continued an alien.

Under these circumstances, he was advised to apply to Goulburn for letters of denization. It was thought he would have got them quite as a matter of course. No man could have a higher character for industry, activity, public utility, and personal integrity. He was, however, a Catholic, and his most reasonable request was refused by your new ally, Goulburn. A second and a third application met the same fate. Nor was the inconvenience and impediment to his business removed until those Whigs, whom you so wisely and so gratefully advise us to renounce, came into office—when at once he was made a denizen.

You, my lord, with all your titles, birth, and fame, would continue to be denied the privilege of the meanest malefactor, if Goulburn's vote could have kept you in that unenviable situation; or if it could at the present moment restore you to it, he would be the most unprincipled of human beings if he did not cheerfully pronounce that vote. Yet you call on us to go over to him!

The next of these new allies to whom you vow fealty is Sir Richard Knatchbull: a man whom you must admit to be one of the most unmitigated enemies to the rights of the Catholics in or out of these realms. He never relaxed his hostility. He never avowed, because he never felt, the slightest mitigation in his enmity to the Catholics. He spoke in every debate; he

voted in every division in the House, he exerted all his influence out of the House, to keep us all still slaves. There was a virulence in his hostility, unchanged and unaltered to the present hour. He assailed Peel for yielding to the necessity of granting Emancipation. He it was who, in the excess of his indignation and animosity against the Catholics, taunted Peel with a "*nusquam tuta fides*."

What he was on the day when he uttered these words the same is he at the present day.

I place him second upon the list of your favourites among the present Cabinet Ministers.

The third shall be the Duke of Buckingham. Pretty much on a par with Knatchbull in point of talents, he if possible exceeded him in virulence. And like Knatchbull, he has never relaxed or qualified his hostility. You would still, my lord; "be denied the privilege of the meanest malefactor" (oh! how I thank you for the words!) if the Duke of Buckingham's vote in Parliament could have detained you in thralldom, or could now consign you back to slavery.

But let me not rest with the minor fly of the present Cabinet. Let me proceed to the highest name amongst them all—the Duke of Wellington. Let me confine myself to your own words, when I speak of him, the most fortunate of the fortunate!

You, my lord, published two editions of your "Reasons for not taking the Test." The first in March, the second in October, 1828. You alluded to the hope which the then preceding Administration of Mr. Canning had inspired. In both editions of your book there is this passage:—

"After many anxious vicissitudes of hope and fear; after passing through a trying variety of temperature; the political horizon appeared to have settled in almost unclouded sunshine upon the Catholics of the empire; when, to our dismay and horror, it is now again suddenly darkening around us. We cannot but fear that the appointment of the Duke of Wellington as Premier is a fatal omen to our cause; for hitherto he has but too often ranked amongst the most signal of our opposers."

You were right, my lord, you were right. He was, indeed, my lord, ranked amongst the most signal of our opponents; and, I would add, amongst the most ungrateful. You yourself proclaimed his ingratitude. Yes. More dishonouring ingratitude was never (at least until very lately) exhibited; because he was most deeply indebted to the sacrifice of Irish Catholic blood for his elevation to the dukedom. You, yourself, say:—

“Were it not for his Catholic troops, the Duke of Wellington had never gathered one solitary laurel; for all the laurels he wears have sprung from their valour and been watered by their blood. But for the confidence reposed in him by Catholic Governments, he had never been carried forward in his career. But for the honours heaped upon him by Catholic monarchs, his breast had never blazed with half that brilliancy that beams upon it now; and many of those high-sounding titles, which so loudly proclaim his glory to the world, would have been mute.”

Yet the first vote he gave as a duke, the very first and most deliberate vote for which he left his proxy, was a vote to continue the degrading slavery of the Catholics.

It was, to him, a degrading vote. You may speak of him, my lord, as you please. I will always speak of him as he really is; as the most lucky of all the ungifted and ungenerous beings that ever were wafted by fortunate chances and accidents to great elevation.

To the passage which I have first quoted, you add:—

“If the Duke of Wellington be the bigot which many imagine, our fate is sealed so long as his counsels prevail. But we are willing to hope against hope.”

Whilst you thus avowed your fears from the bigotry of the Duke of Wellington, you declared your determination not to despair, “to hope even against hope.” And yet I may say, by way of parenthesis, that you now come out against me, and bid me to despair of carrying the Repeal of the Union, although I hope for that event, not “against hope,” but with events that cluster hopes around me, whether in Spain, in France, in Africa, or in the East—or in America. For, my lord, the moment the Irish are

sufficiently combined amongst themselves to obtain that respectful attention which they will then assuredly merit; or, mark me, my lord! the moment that England wants the assistance of the people of Ireland, that moment England will obtain that assistance—but the Union shall be repealed.

But to return:—

In 1828, you were quite conscious of the Duke of Wellington's bigoted opposition. You denounced him as the enemy of the Catholics. But you may allege that he subsequently altered his opinions, mitigated his hostility, and emancipated the Catholics.

I admit the last fact. He did emancipate the Catholics; but he emancipated them because (as he himself avowed) emancipation was no longer to be resisted. We had our moral Waterloo, my lord, and our victory was more useful, if not more glorious. We chained the valiant Duke to the car of our triumph, and compelled him to set us free.

But I utterly deny that he altered his opinions or mitigated his hostility. He avowed that his enmity to Catholic rights, that his preference for Catholic degradation, were still the same; whilst he added the plaintive conclusion, that further resistance was impossible. He declared that his hostility was still unmitigated. Nay, he said that the Emancipation would be more useful to the expansion and establishment of Protestantism, by the union of action which would continue amongst Protestants; whilst the Catholics, no longer kept together by political interests, would tarnish themselves by their feuds, disgrace themselves with their dissensions, and weaken themselves by both.

Was his soul prophetic? Good, my lord.

The Duke changed his politics and emancipated us; but he never changed his bigoted opinions. He opposed, during the late Administration, every concession to the Irish people, every attempt to assimilate the franchises of the Irish with those of the English. It was he who thrust into the Irish Parliamentary Reform Bill the clause which preserved the rights of the exclu-

sively Protestant freemen. And the express grounds on which he perpetrated these enormities, was to preserve, as far as he could, the ascendancy of the Protestant Church in Ireland.

He more than once, during Lord Melbourne's Government, laid it down as a maxim in the administration of Ireland, "that Protestants should be encouraged." By "encouraged" he of course intended, and avowed he intended, that they should be "preferred" to the Catholics on all practicable occasions.

With that maxim of his, I leave him for the present, under the protection and special favour of the Catholic Earl of Shrewsbury.

The next that I offer to your lordship's consideration is Lord Lyndhurst. Of him, too, you entertain hopes which I shall leave undisturbed, because such hopes are, and must be, intact by any process of reasoning, or any approach of common sense! They can spring only from that species of sensibility which when translated into words, is familiarly called "twaddle;" and when confined to mere thought, falls within the category of dotage. You are too young and too wise for either twaddle or dotage, and yet I must, in despair, abandon you to your "hopes" (!) of Lord Lyndhurst. He has been guilty of most mischievous discretion—let me call it dangerous, too. It is true that it was only the Irish Catholics on whom he affixed the appellation of "aliens in language, aliens in blood, and aliens in religion." It will be well, however, to recollect, that as an "alien in religion" you—even you—are stigmatized. Though you are emancipated, he still brands alienage upon you! after having in Parliament exerted all his faculties, and even availed himself of the excellence of his memory, to detain you in a state worse than that of an alien. Nay, he incurred, to keep you in degradation, all the odium of being a renegade, and of abandoning all his former liberal opinions, for the vile love of place and promotion. He poured out against you that speech which was "once Toby Philpott's;" and ranked himself at the side of bigotry, in a manner which entitled him to be classed among the most unprincipled and the most narrow-minded of modern statesmen.

Perhaps, indeed, there may be something in the private life of this nobleman which inspires you with hopes and encourages your confidence. If so, I am totally ignorant of it. But, if it be so, I leave you to the full benefit of its influence.

Let me next point your attention to some of the minor fry of triumphant Toryism. There is Mr. Milnes Gaskell, and there is Mr. Sidney Herbert. The one, it is said, has been liberal; I do not vouch for it; but this I know, that at present his disposition is to call you, my lord, a "Romanist." But if he were disposed to an excess of civility, perhaps he might condescend to call you a "Papist."

As to Mr. Sidney Herbert, the only way, so far as I can judge, in which he earned office was by a speech in which he most grossly calumniated the Catholic priesthood of Ireland—distorted the evidence before the Intimidation Committee, so as to show that he had some ability, and more inclination, to range himself for life as a No-Popery champion.

This, however, as addressed to you, is a topic of some delicacy; for you have in your pamphlet, as I shall shortly show, sanctioned some of his charges against the Catholic clergy, and adopted some of his calumnies. But whether coming from him alone, or sanctioned by you, high as you are, it is a subject which forbids mincing delicacy, and compels me to proclaim the charges false as they are foul—unfounded as they are injurious. Yes! the calumniated Catholic clergy of Ireland can set not only him, but even you, at utter defiance!

Last, but not least, comes Sir Robert Peel. And what is his history? He began his career in Ireland by organising Orangeism; by joining with Saurin in that corruption of the Irish Bar which now promises us a plentiful crop of bigoted, intolerant, and partial judges. He reorganised and armed the Orange yeomanry of the north of Ireland, whose orgies were annually celebrated in the blood of the Catholics; whilst he proclaimed in the House of Commons, that the only fault of these Orangemen was their "excess of loyalty;" those very Orangemen who have been scattered by the unanimous condemnation of Parliament.

He filled every office with their then sworn partizans. He raised himself from obscurity into notice and high station, as the child and champion of intolerance. There was no dirty dexterity of which he was not capable, even upon the most awful of all possible subjects; but let me give your own charge in your own words:—

“It was asserted” (by Peel), “with much parade of solemn and momentous accusation, against the most unimpeachable prelacy in the world, that they were guilty of the most audacious impiety in cancelling a precept from the Decalogue; and it was at least insinuated that they did so in order to flatter their favourite propensities to idolatry.”

The charge, of course, was false. You have proclaimed it so; and shown the miserable chicanery upon which it was founded. But that chicanery was Peel's—that falsehood was Peel's! On the subject of the Decalogue itself, he was guilty of bearing that false witness against you, and against every one of us, from our highest prelate down to the humblest attendant upon our worship. What was your own description of him? You began by paying him a compliment which he little deserved. You said—

“It is astonishing that a man of Mr. Peel's character and reputation for fair dealing should condescend to use misrepresentation when he finds argument fail him. But it only shows the extent of his delusion, and how fitted his mind is to receive impressions contrary to truth, reason, and common sense, when his favourite prejudices are to be cherished. If that delusion only affected the individual we should lament it without presuming to correct him; but when the delusion of an individual stands between the happiness of millions, and that individual is the champion of a party opposed to the best interests of the empire, then, indeed, it is a delusion which ought to be exposed to the whole world.”

Has your lordship been seduced by being called “vilely superstitious?” Or have you been won by the flattery of being termed “an abject idolator?”

But you may reproach me with the fact that the Whigs enacted “a base, brutal, and bloody” Coercion Bill. Recollect, however, that the English Catholics were unaffected by that

measure. There is, therefore, no English excuse for a treacherous desertion of your old friends. Push not, then, your sympathy for Ireland too far. We are in the habit of suffering, and therefore we can bear it more patiently. We are like the eels, accustomed to be skinned alive. Recollect, good my lord—pray, recollect—that, of two of the most influential members of the present Cabinet, the one, Sir James Graham, was the ardent supporter, and the other, Lord Stanley, was the contriver, fabricator, and triumphant advocate of the “base, brutal, and bloody” Coercion Bill for Ireland.

Now, my lord, make your choice. Show your highmindedness, your generosity, your noble gratitude for past services; your just indignation against unprincipled hostility. Make your choice—but, alas! your choice is already made! The highmindedness is gone; the generous feeling for a fallen friend is obdured and perceived no more! The gratitude is obliterated; and your just indignation at iniquitous hostility merges into puerile servility to the minions of place, power, and authority.

Oh, ingratitude unparalleled! Oh, preposterous selection! Never was such a choice made as you have made and enforced.

“Blow, blow thou wintry wind,
Thou art not so unkind,
Nor is thy tooth so rude
As man's ingratitude.”

Yes. If the English Catholics follow your lordship, the biting, chilling, bitter blasts of ingratitude were never so basely blown and so keenly felt as they will be by every disinterested friend and lover of the generous emotions.

You have, however, your reasons for this desertion of your friends and selection of your enemies. You endeavour to persuade the Catholics of England to abandon those friends and to select those enemies. Your business is to justify a mode of action so repugnant to every right feeling, and so derogatory to every sense of political honour or honesty, that it could be palliated only by the most overpowering necessity.

Such was the task you imposed upon yourself. Heavens! how miserably have you failed! Your reasons are to be found in the fourth, fifth, and sixth pages of your letter. I am compelled to say there never was anything more flimsy, more fantastic. It is with pain I must add that drivelling idiocy or childish folly could scarcely attain to anything so weak—so mawkish. I will endeavour to analyse the puny material.

First—You allege that “all the great paramount reforms are accomplished” (oh! most sapient sage!), “and that there is now only a mere distinction without a difference between Whigs and Tories.”

Let me admit your facts—a matter of some difficulty—in order to admire the conclusion you draw from those premises. Your logic is, indeed, of a rare quality. What! because there is “only a distinction without a difference” between Whigs and Tories, therefore the English Catholics should, according to you, abandon the Whigs, their consistent friends, and support the Tories, their unrelenting enemies!

Such a specimen of reasoning is not, I believe, to be found among “the royal and noble authors” of any other century or country.

Secondly—As your second argument you state—

“That the Tories have adopted the late reforms as an integral part of our institutions; and even profess a willingness to concede such changes as the altered circumstances of society might still require.”

I cannot concede your facts here; because you told me just now “that all the great paramount reforms were actually accomplished.” Nor do I believe that the Tories intend in anything to ameliorate our institutions. At all events, you must admit that the Whigs are at least equally desirous of political improvement. How, then, can you be so preposterous as to expect that the English Catholics should consider this a reason to abandon their tried friends the Whigs, and to support their known enemies the Tories?

Thirdly—Your third argument insinuates that—

"The powers of mischief of a Tory Government are sufficiently restrained both by the established reforms themselves, and by the continually growing force of public opinion."

I leave, without a single observation, this third sagacious reason why the English Catholics should desert their tried friends the Whigs, and support their known enemies the Tories.

Fourthly—Your fourth argument is accurately abstracted thus; you say—

"If a larger measure of reform be needed, which it certainly is, in Ireland, the new men, in the joy and generosity of their triumph, may possibly compromise upon a sound and equitable adjustment."

There, my lord—there are your words; not all your words; but still, as far as they go, *ipsissima verba*. We have it that a larger measure of reform is "certainly needed" in Ireland. But, gently—gently, good my lord! Told you not me just now that all the great paramount reforms are accomplished?

There is a class, indeed, of whom the proverb says, that they have occasion for good memories. You, my lord, are a truthful man; and therefore you dispense with remembering what you wrote but a short time before.

Let me now just analyse this last specimen of reasoning:—Because the Tories may, "possibly," in their joy and generosity do some justice to the Irish, therefore the English Catholics ought to grovel in the mire of deep, dark ingratitude to the Whigs!

I remember an Irish barrister, who, when addressing a jury, requested them "not to be carried away by the dark oblivion of a brow." He was stopped by the judge, who exclaimed, "Why, sir, that is nonsense!" "Oh, my lord," returned the unabashed counsellor, "I know it is nonsense—but it is good enough for a jury."

Thus, my good lord, your inference that the Tories may possibly in their generosity and joy do something for the Irish is stark nonsense. But upon a matter of political treachery, you deem it good enough for the English Catholics.

Fifthly—Your fifth and last argument may be condensed thus: you say, “the times are so menacing and so unsettled, that it is a problem for futurity to solve, whether Whig or Tory rule might be better or worse for the country.”

‘Bravo! So, because there may be a problem for futurity to solve as to the comparative merits of Whigs and Tories, therefore the living English Catholics are in the interim to decide the point for themselves, by wallowing in the mire of ingratitude and desertion of friends!

I rejoice that I have got through these miserable attempts at persuasion. I cannot, however, avoid saying that they fill me with ineffable disgust. Fortunate, my lord, indeed is it for you, that the weakness of your head may detract but little from the goodness of your heart.

I have thus followed you through the two leading objects of your pamphlet.

First, your attempt to array the English Catholics and Catholicity itself in favour of the grinding bread-tax.

Secondly, your attempt to bring over the Catholics of England, and even to arm Catholicity itself, in the cause of the Tories.

By the first, attainting the sacred banners of apostolic Christianity with the guilt of starving the poor, in order to satiate the avarice of the rich. In the second, inflicting a black spot upon English Catholicity, by making it exhibit the most profligate ingratitude to high-principled (but now powerless) friends; and, with the most abject servility, sharing in the ungenerous joy of malignant enemies.

The rest of your pamphlet is really ancillary to those two great objects—starvation and ingratitude. You introduce you other topics merely to gratify or allure English prejudice and English partiality. You, my lord, know as well as I do, that the English Catholics have in their day of power been as oppressive and as contemptuous of the Irish as the English Protestants have since been; and there still remains in the minds of some of the former as bitter a hostility as ever to the Irish. This

unhappy feeling you have sought to gratify, in the selection of your incidental topics. These topics relate—first, to a most important subject—the conduct of the Catholic clergy of Ireland; secondly, to a subject, trivial politically and personally in importance and magnitude—the individual who replies to you—I mean myself. The third relates to a subject of national urgency—the Repeal of the Union. In the foregoing order shall I make a few observations upon each of these topics.

As to the first—the conduct of the Catholic clergy of Ireland—I really do not know how to restrain myself. I would not wish to use harsh language towards your lordship; but how is it possible to speak with dignified temper of the audacity with which you presume, in utter ignorance of fact, to censure men in every moral point of view your superiors? To fulminate your anathemas against the faithful, the enduring, the devoted clergy, the only real friends of the afflicted and poor people of Ireland—the anointed priests of the Most High God.

Perhaps I am the more ready to yield to irritation, by reason of the impertinent intrusion by another English Catholic nobleman—a prattling peer, with some zeal but no discretion—into the concerns of the hierarchy of the Catholic Church in Ireland. His most uncivil assault upon one of the meekest, and gentlest, as well as most pious of human beings, the Right Rev. Dr. Browne; his gross and gratuitous attack upon the character of that exalted personage, the “lion of the fold of Judah,” the Most Rev. Dr. M’Hale; these attacks seem to me to bespeak this foregone conclusion—that the English Catholic nobility are in the habit among themselves of speaking with indifference, if not with contempt, of the Catholic hierarchy of Ireland; but let me return to your lordship.

In page 18, you call the Catholic priesthood of Ireland “a political priesthood” (did you borrow the phrase from the *Times*?)—“removed from the meek and peaceful spirit of humanity.” And you wish to check their “*now* uncalled-for interference.”

Yes, my lord. The “*now*” in italics is yours; and you are

right to mark the distinction; because there was a time when you lauded the political interference of the Catholic clergy of Ireland. But then you had a personal interest in their conflict. The Irish priesthood were then struggling to free you from political degradation; to elevate you from a position which you yourself have described as being worse than that of an alien; "more degraded than that of the meanest malefactor." They were then lauded and bepraised by you. They were struggling for the good of the Earl of Shrewsbury! They are now censured and vilified—they are struggling for the good of Ireland! In p. 20, you insinuate that a considerable alienation from Catholicity has been created in the minds of many in England, by what you call delinquencies of a portion of the Catholic clergy in Ireland.

I would most mournfully ask your lordship, how you could write such calumnious nonsense? Delinquencies, truly! of the Irish clergy! I thank you for the word. It becomes you highly to use such an expression. It does, forsooth! become the Catholic Earl of Shrewsbury to presume—I must use the word—to apply such language towards our clergy. And then—their causing the alienation of English minds from Catholicity. What would you, English Catholics, be, if it were not for Irish priests and Irish Catholic laymen residing amongst you? But the absurdity of the charge disarms its malignity. And there I leave it, in the precious keeping of your lordship.

You proceed in the same page, by admitting that "persons of all classes justly bestow praises on the exemplary conduct of the Irish Catholic clergy." But this is only meant to make the dagger-stab of the next sentence more fatal. You continue thus: "and while people may with reason be scandalized at some, let us not be unjust to others."

I crave your mercy. You are "scandalized" in good truth, at the conduct of some of the Catholic clergy. "Scandalized!" It is a hard word. But let me implore your lordship to mitigate the sensitiveness of your piety. "Scandalized" again.

Who are they among the Catholic clergy who thus give scandal? You will answer—the Repealers. And then see how sweeping your vituperation is. Take two of the largest dioceses in Ireland; those of Westmeath and Ardagh; there is not a single clergyman in those extensive dioceses, including near one-third of the island, who has not sent in his contribution to the Repeal Association as a Repealer. I believe that nearly four-fifths of the priesthood are in favour of Repeal. I know but of one priest who has declared himself publicly and in print opposed to that measure. Eleven of the bishops are enrolled as Repealers. Do all these scandalize you, good my lord?

Heaven help us, Father Abraham—what these English be! You were yourself, my lord, at one time a Repealer; and yet, here you are now the ally of the *Times* and of Exeter Hall, pronouncing the Catholic clergy of Ireland “scandalous;” because of the Repeal.

You were a Repealer, when your interests as an aspirant for constitutional equality and political power were likely to be promoted by Repeal agitation. You were actually a Repealer before I agitated for the Repeal. The great and overwhelming majority of the Catholic priesthood of Ireland are Repealers in their zealous love for the temporal as well as the spiritual interests of the Irish people. They are (as is every honest candid man who understands the question, and is not influenced by selfish motives) in favour of Repeal; because they see (as everybody who wishes to look steadily at the subject must see) that the oppressive ascendancy faction is revived, and will be perpetuated by reason of the Union, if the Tories continue in power. Because they see that Orange murders have already recommenced under the *régime* of your friends the Tories; and that there is daily more blood on the face of the land shed by the allies and minions of your friends the Tories. Because they practically know that, under the influence of the Union, poverty must increase, destitution must augment, the fiendish spirit of anti-Catholic bigotry must necessarily accumulate. Because

they have seen that the justice of equality with England in rights, privileges, and protection, has been refused not only by the Tories, but even by the Whigs. Because they know, as every rational lover of Ireland must know, that there is no relief, no redress for Ireland, save by the restoration of her own Parliament.

So much for the Catholic clergy of Ireland.

I next come to your second alluring topic—alluring to the anti-Irish spirit. It is your vituperation of my humble self.

Your attacks upon me are really curious, and distinguished above all other things by gratitude, sweet gratitude, and by your magnanimous disregard of matter-of-fact.

There is something comical in the extent of your inventive powers. Take the following specimen. After speaking of my not knowing where to stop in my career, you add:—"Once, indeed has he" (O'Connell) "been most signally discomfited, and bound hand and foot to the chariot wheels of his antagonists. For a time he was politically dead, and the liberties of his country were extinguished in him."

What the deuce is the meaning of this? What idle fantasy is careering through your dreaming brain? What driftless imaginings were playing with, and deluding your inventive power? Speak, gentle sphynx; resolve the riddle! When was I bound either by hand or by foot? When was I bound to the wheels of chariot, gig, cab, or buggy; real or imaginary; poetical or actual?

I have beaten my poor wits into powder to discover your meaning; and can scarcely venture, after all, upon a conjecture. Even my conjecture is founded only upon a fact unattached, so far as I know, in any way to your lordship. The fact is this: the Duke of Wellington, a few years ago, asserted in the House of Lords that I had been convicted of a misdemeanour in a prosecution instituted by that silliest of the silly, poor Lord Anglesey. He said I was a convicted criminal.

In my place in the House of Commons, I refuted the assertion, and showed its utter want of truth. So far from being

convicted, I never was even tried! Wherefore Lord Eldon came to the aid of the valiant duke, and obtained an order of the House of Lords for copies of all the proceedings in that prosecution. They were produced and printed by the House of Lords; and you, my lord, must have been furnished with a copy, as I had been the instrument of obtaining for you the privilege of the peerage.

Some two or three years after this, the military duke repeated his confuted calumny. I immediately met him with a letter, published in the London newspapers, in which I proved to demonstration, not only the falsehood of his charge, but that he must have known its falsehood.

Now, my conjecture is this, that your paragraph may be intended to suggest that there was already one triumphant prosecution, and that there may be at present another, in which the Attorney-General might be able to read from the pamphlet of the Catholic Earl of Shrewsbury (simply as part of his speech) how little of favour I could deserve from Catholic jurors.

This conjecture is somewhat aided by the very hostile spirit manifested in your attacks on me. It is still but a mere conjecture. But, if it be not this, why, then, it is a simple invention, which might (if I had the least disposition to be rude, which I have not) be expressed by a shorter word.

You are, really, my lord, an imaginative man.

In the vivacity of your fancy, you have, in the paragraph last quoted, been guilty (however unwittingly) of the *suggestio falsi*. In the paragraph which I shall next quote, this ingredient is mixed up with what I do not know how to describe as other than a wilful *suppressio veri*.

In page 33, I find you allege that I have drawn from an advertisement in the *Tablet* for a servant, with a reserve, "that an Irish person would not suit," my sweeping proofs of disaffection amongst the whole body of English Catholics, "high and low, great and small." You add, "that it turned out to be a compliment to her "own transplanted countrywomen,

from a respectable housekeeping Irish lady herself." And you conclude thus:—

"There never was a finer burst of impassioned eloquence than that speech; but never argument so weak, or provocation so unfounded; and, to judge from the cheers and groans that accompanied its delivery, never impression more profound, or success more complete, in exciting hatred and animosity between the two countries. But where were charity and truth all the while? Or where the charity, truth and justice of many of the statements in the famous proclamation to which it was the prologue? Now making every possible allowance for a warm temperament and excited feelings, there can be no excuse for so false, so exaggerated, so virulent a denunciation. Even if his premises were true, the deduction had been false. Was not the wish the father to the thought, because it suited the purpose of the moment? But, while Mr. O'Connell forgets that violence, and exaggeration, and undeserved abuse, defeat themselves, no man ever presented us with a more signal illustration of the truth of this axiom than himself; and it is by this prodigal indulgence in the most unmeasured strain of vituperation that he is now reduced to the least enviable of all positions—in which his praise is censure, and his censure praise."

I wish the reader to peruse that paragraph over again. I will treat it, I hope, with as much coolness as a man so outraged and insulted can possibly do. At all events, I hope to treat it good-humouredly. In the first place, I will remark, that the assertion, "that the lady advertising for a servant, was a respectable and experienced housekeeping Irish lady," is the pure invention of Lord Shrewsbury's prurient fancy. All that he knew upon the subject was, that an anonymous paragraph appeared in the newspapers, stating that the lady was Irish. I do not believe it. If she were Irish at all, she had certainly resided in England, amongst English Catholics, long enough to have caught prejudices; and to have servilely imitated their dislike to her countrywomen. This would rather strengthen my case than diminish its force.

This, however, is not of much importance. But there is that which really is so. You, my lord, say that I made that advertisement my argument of disaffection to the Irish "among the whole body of English Catholics, high and low, great and

small;" these are your words. Yet you cannot but know that this, your assertion, is totally untrue; that it is directly the reverse of the truth. You avow that you read my speech (for you describe it), and therefore you must have seen, and especially known, when you wrote the contrary, that I, in that speech, so far from accusing all the English Catholics, great and small, high and low, made large and sweeping exceptions; that I asserted and boasted that there were very many English Catholics willing and anxious to do justice to Ireland.

Now, may I not retaliate—and I only retaliate—your saucy question, "Where now is your charity—where is your truth?"

Neither is this all. In the paragraph thus quoted, your allegation is that my proofs of English Catholic disaffection to Ireland were confined to the advertisement in the *Tablet*. That is your intent, or your language would have no rational meaning. Yet you must have known that this suggestion of yours was utterly untrue; because, in page 36, you charge me with an unmannerly attack upon Sir John Gerard for his adherence to Conservatism.

Now, that "unmannerly attack" was merely the statement of one of my many proofs of English Catholic disaffection to the Irish. You had, therefore, those proofs before your eyes. And yet you have the coolness to assert that I gave but one weak argument to prove the truth of my denunciation.

Let me once more retaliate your saucy question, "Where now is your charity? your truth? your justice?" I deny their existence. I prove that they do not exist. The language is to be sure harsh—but then it is yours. I use these queries upon great, and totally unmerited, provocation—for I offended, I assailed you in nothing!

You used them upon cool, deliberate, written, and printed premeditation; against a man whom I do not allege, but whom yourself admit, to have been your bountiful benefactor.

Oh, shame! ten thousand times shame on that malignant spirit which could thus taint the chivalrous Earl of Shrewsbury!

To relieve the tedium of personal conflict, which you have deliberately provoked and commenced, let us by way of parenthesis decide the matter of Sir John Gerard.

You accuse me of an "unmannerly attack" upon him. I allege that I did but make a just, a reasonable, and a thoroughly well-founded attack upon that unworthy person. I attacked him only as a public man. And my full justification is this: the Irish Catholics had, by your own profession, raised Sir John Gerard from a situation which you have yourself described as being "worse than that of alien, and more degraded than that of the meanest malefactor."

They procured for him the right—that most important right, to vote for members of Parliament. They procured for his tenants that most important right—the right to vote for members of Parliament. And the gratitude of Sir John Gerard, the use which he makes of the franchise we procured for himself and his tenants, is, by the means of that franchise, to return to Parliament a bitter enemy of Ireland; one actually labouring to extinguish the franchise of the Irish Catholics! and this conduct of Sir John Gerard's you call by the gentle name of "adhering to Conservatism." Be that so.

Such, however, is the "political caitiff" over whom you cast the chivalrous shield of the Talbots. Alas, alas! I fear the client is worthy of the patron!

Having thus taken a breathing in the bye-battle respecting Sir John Gerard, let us return to our own personal quarrel—a quarrel which you have, in the wantonness of noble insolence, volunteered to create. But I do not shrink from the contest. The only thing I require—it may be indeed too much to require—is this: that you should not use the poisoned weapon of hypocrisy.

You allege that I was scant of proof of the English Catholic disaffection to the Irish.

Do I want proofs now, good my lord? for, laying aside your lucrative support of the Corn Laws, what but the most contemptuous indifference, or indeed hostility, to the Catholics of

Ireland, could have dictated such a pamphlet as yours? What but this hostility could have inspired your calumnious malignings of a large body of the Irish Catholic clergy? If the spirit had not been as strong as it must be malignant, would not they, at least, have escaped unassailed? But I cry you mercy. They have "scandalized" you.

Let me however ask, what else could have stimulated you, on your mere motion, to assail even me, whom you admit to be the representative of the wishes and of the wants of the Irish people? What else could have stimulated you to the cold-blooded calumny of the great masses of the Irish Catholic people, who have joined with me in the demand for the Repeal—treating them as separatists, revolutionists, and subverters of the monarchy and of social order?

If you, my lord, be well affected to the Irish Catholics, never did mortal man exhibit affection in a manner so strange and so repugnant. A manner indeed "capable" (to use your own words) "of exciting hatred and animosity between the two countries."

Let us, however, draw somewhat closer. In the paragraph which I have so lately transcribed, you accuse me of declamation and false reasoning; of exciting hatred and stirring up animosity between the two countries. You accuse me of want of charity, want of truth, want of justice. You accuse me of exaggeration, virulence, and falsehood. And to cap the climax of your chivalrous civility, you denounce me as a man "whose praise is censure, and his censure praise."

My lord, there is assuredly no novelty in the phrase. You have not the malignant merit of inventing it. It is as old at least as the days of Junius, and has been repeated ten thousand times since with as little truth as in the present case.

But you could not avoid adopting it. It was used by Peel at a moment when I had not the power to reply. I had made a speech, showing many of the meritorious acts of the Whig party—showing that all that in recent times had been obtained of amelioration in our institutions—that all the recent measures

sacred to liberty and humanity had been achieved by the Whigs. I showed that the catalogue of Tory virtues was a miserable blank; while the effects of their unjust wars, their bigotry, and their crimes, were, and are still this present time, grinding the people in oppression and misery. What was Peel's reply? Did he confute any statement of the Whig merits? No such thing. Did he vindicate the Tories from my censure? No such thing. In truth, he could not; for my arguments were based upon public and notorious facts. He accordingly rose in a rage; made a furious, virulent, and, indeed, ferocious personal attack upon me, which he concluded with the hackneyed phrase you have so gloatingly adopted from him, "that my praise was censure and my censure praise." There was not one single reasonable man upon either side of the House who did not condemn his conduct in that respect. I have not met any reasonable man out of the House who did not equally condemn it. But it seems to deserve your sanction and patronage. Peel forged the charge as against me; and you have given it currency with the English Catholics, by endorsing it with your name and titles of honour.

You have taken up his quarrel against me. You have flung in my face the "dirt and dust" of Peel. You have taken up his weapon to break my head. We have, therefore, a right to inquire what claims the combatants had upon you as an English Catholic—the character you boast of—that you should make battle for the one, or treacherously assail the other. Let there be no words of mine. Let me give your own statement of the combatants. You describe me—even in that pamphlet in which I am so virulently assailed—in these terms—

"O'Connell is undoubtedly the man whom Providence has employed as the dispenser of many blessings both to Ireland and to us. Without him we had laboured in vain; we had still been the victims of a misguided bigotry and grinding oppression."

Such, in your most unfavourable moment, was your description of me, whom you now with gratuitous virulence assail. How

did you describe—and truly describe—my antagonist? You said of him—let me repeat it—“that he was a man using misrepresentation when he ‘found argument to fail.’” You said of him—“that his mind was fitted to receive impressions contrary to truth, reason, and common sense, when his favourite prejudices were to be cherished.”

Thank God, good English Catholic, for the words! You also charged Peel with “making a solemn and momentous accusation against the Catholic bishops of Ireland,” whom you then called the most unimpeachable prelacy in the world, “of being guilty of the most audacious impiety in cancelling one of the ten commandments, in order to flatter their favourite propensities to idolatry.”

In short, you proved that he made of the divine Decalogue itself an instrument of forgery and fraud to injure Catholicity; that the words that were uttered on Mount Sinai amidst the lightnings of Heaven, were distorted by him to bigoted party purposes. You stigmatized him as having lit a torch of those lightnings in order therewith to blast the reputation and annihilate the hopes of the Catholics. You proved him to be a blasphemer for paltry party purposes, and you declared that he ought to be exposed to the scorn and derision of the world.

Yet you ape his intemperance, you imitate his virulence, and you actually adopt and employ his scurrility against the man, without whose aid you are forced to acknowledge that you would still be in a condition “worse than an alien, and more degraded than that of the meanest malefactor.”

Proud lord! I rejoice in the contrast between us. No man with one particle of feeling would, for your honours and estates, malign his friend and embrace his enemy as you, in the purest spirit of gratuitous treachery, have volunteered to do.

Let me revert to the worst part of your charge against me. You accuse me of “want of charity and want of justice in exciting animosity between the two nations.” Read the charge over again, and weigh well—for you cannot exaggerate—its

severity. And when you have convinced yourself of the enormity of the guilt it alleges, read this passage—

“The spirit of hostility which actuates the peasantry of England against the poor, wandering, expatriated Irish, is the same which has ever governed the higher classes in their treatment of that unhappy country.”

Whose language is this? Stand forth, Earl of Shrewsbury, Waterford, and Wexford, for these are thy words.

Are they false? Then no stigma can be dark enough to brand the man who uttered them. Are they true? If it be true that the English, the highest classes included, are, and ever have been, governed by the vulgar prejudices and the mean hostility of the lowest peasants in their treatment of Ireland—then what censure can be severe enough to inflict upon the man who in his own controversy published these truths, “exciting animosity and hate between the two countries,” and who then turns round upon me and accuses me as guilty of deep crime in exciting that animosity; merely because I said, not that the majority of the people of England, who are Protestants, but a small minority of the minority of the English people, who are Catholics, were hostile to the Irish?

And you—you, Earl of Shrewsbury, thus accuse me, and charge me with the want of charity, of justice, and of truth, though I did not go the one-tenth of the length of uncharitableness you yourself proclaimed.

If it were a crime in me to make the mitigated assertion, what can be the degree of your guilt, your want of charity, of justice, of truth, when you made the sweeping, the all-comprehensive allegation of ever-enduring bitterness and hostility to the Irish on the part of all classes, “high and low, great and small,” of the English nation?

In sad and sober truth, I envy you not your position, noble earl!

Let me come to another paragraph in which, without copying Peel, you have gone even beyond aught that ever fell from him. In page 30 you have made an insinuation, clearly attri-

buting to me the basest of all possible motives. Your words are, "had not people long surmised that a continuance of agitation in Ireland is much more likely to augment the rent than to benefit the country."

Of course nothing more derogatory to man could be suggested than this last charge. It is impossible to exaggerate the intensity of its foulness, if it be true—or the black malignity of its calumny, if it be false.

This every man must admit. Yet you have so little notion of preserving even the semblance of veraciousness, that you actually say in the next paragraph, that you treat me fairly and even indulgently!

Thanks for the fairness; ten thousand thanks for the indulgence!

And, now, what will inevitably happen? Why, this—that you who have accused me in express terms of want of charity, of truth, and of justice—you, who have accused me of virulence, vituperation, and falsehood—you, who have accused me of the paltry sordidness of sacrificing the loved land of my birth to my own grovelling pecuniary interests—you who, having exhausted all the resources of your own rancour, have condescended to resort to the hackneyed virulence of mine enemy—you, who have never received any injury from me, and never heard my voice raised respecting you except for praise—you and your English friends, especially your Tory press, will affect a saintly horror at the vulgarity and coarseness of my invective. You will prate of my "abusing" you. You will turn up the white of your eyes, and thank your stars that you are not like this publican?

Yes; I see it as clearly as if I were already reading the phrases of your allies. You and they will forget that you have volunteered to accuse me of all that is mean, base, seditious—aye, and revolutionary. They will forget that you yourself, in all the politeness of your chivalry, used the very language in which the vulgar express their bad passions. Yes, this (and, if needful, ten thousand times more) would be forgotten in itself, and forgiven to you! You will be set down as the essence of

sweet courtesy; and I, who merely defend myself, will be—not tried, but convicted of all uncharitableness. Be it so. I consent. But I will not consent that my claim to the “rent” should be misunderstood. That claim may be rejected; but it is understood in Ireland; and it shall not be misstated anywhere without refutation.

My claim is this. For more than twenty years before the Emancipation, the burden of the cause was thrown upon me. I had to arrange the meetings—to prepare the resolutions—to furnish replies to the correspondence—to examine the case of each person complaining of practical grievances—to rouse the torpid—to animate the lukewarm—to control the violent and the inflammatory—to avoid the shoals and breakers of the law—to guard against multiplied treachery—and at all times to oppose, at every peril, the powerful and multitudinous enemies of the cause.

To descend to particulars. At a period when my minutes counted by the guinea, when my emoluments were limited only by the extent of my physical and waking powers, when my meals were shortened to the narrowest span, and my sleep restricted to the earliest hours before dawn—at that period, and for more than twenty years, there was no day that I did not devote from one to two hours, often much more, to the working out of the Catholic cause. And that without receiving or allowing the offer of any remuneration, even for the personal expenditure incurred in the agitation of the cause itself. For four years I bore the entire expenses of Catholic agitation, without receiving the contributions of others to a greater amount than £74 in the whole. Who shall repay me for the years of my buoyant youth and cheerful manhood? Who shall repay me for the lost opportunities of acquiring professional celebrity, or for the wealth which such distinctions would ensure?

Other honours I could not then enjoy.

Emancipation came. You admit that it was I who brought it about. The year before Emancipation, though wearing a stuff gown, and belonging to the outer bar, my profes-

sional emoluments exceeded £8,000—an amount never before realised in Ireland in the same space of time by an outer barrister.

Had I adhered to my profession, I must soon have been called within the bar, and obtained the precedency of a silk gown. The severity of my labour would have been at once much mitigated; whilst the emoluments would have been considerably increased. I could have done a much greater variety of business with less toil, and my professional income must have necessarily been augmented by, probably, one-half.

If I had abandoned politics, even the honours of my profession and its highest stations lay fairly before me.

But I dreamed a day-dream—was it a dream?—that Ireland still wanted me; that although the Catholic aristocracy and gentry of Ireland had obtained most valuable advantages from Emancipation, yet the benefits of good government had not reached the great mass of the Irish people, and could not reach them unless the Union should be either made a reality, or unless that hideous measure should be abrogated.

I did not hesitate as to my course. My former success gave me personal advantages which no other man could easily procure. I flung away the profession—I gave its emoluments to the winds—I closed the vista of its honours and dignities—I embraced the cause of my country! and, come weal or come woe, I have made a choice at which I have never repined, nor ever shall repent.

An event occurred which I could not have foreseen. Once more, high professional promotion was placed within my reach. The office of Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer became vacant. I was offered it; or, had I preferred the office of Master of the Rolls, the alternative was proposed to me. It was a tempting offer. Its value was enhanced by the manner in which it was made, and pre-eminently so, by the person through whom it was made—the best Englishman that Ireland ever saw—the Marquis of Normanby.

But I dreamed again a day-dream—was it a dream?—and I

refused the offer. And here am I now taunted, even by you, with mean and sordid motives.

I do not think I am guilty of the least vanity, when I assert that no man ever made greater sacrifices to what he deemed the cause of his country than I have done. I care not how I may be ridiculed or maligned. I feel the proud consciousness that no public man has made more, or greater, or more ready sacrifices.

Still there lingers behind one source of vexation and sorrow—one evil, perhaps greater than any other—upon the gratitude of my countrymen. It consists in the bitter, the virulent, the mercenary, and therefore the more envenomed hostility towards me, which my love for Ireland and for liberty has provoked. What taunts, what reproaches, what calumnies have I not sustained? what modes of abuse! what vituperation, what slander have been exhausted against me! what vials of bitterness have been poured on my head! what coarseness of language has not been used, abused, and worn out in assailing me? what derogatory appellation has been spared? what treasures of malevolence have been expended? what follies have not been imputed? in fact, what crimes have I not been charged with?

I do not believe that I ever had in private life an enemy. I know that I had and have many, very many warm, cordial, affectionate, attached friends. Yet here I stand, beyond controversy, the most and the best-abused man in the universal world! And, to cap the climax of calumny, you come with a lath at your side instead of the sword of a Talbot, and you throw Peel's scurrility along with your own into my cup of bitterness.

All this have I done and suffered for Ireland. And let her be grateful or ungrateful, solvent or insolvent, he who insults me for taking her pay, wants the vulgar elements of morality which teach that the labourer is worthy of his hire; he wants the higher sensations of the soul, which enable one to perceive that there are services which bear no comparison with money, and can never be recompensed by pecuniary rewards.

Yes; I am—I say it proudly—I am the hired servant of Ireland, and I glory in my servitude.

I go back to another paragraph—the last that I shall extract at any length. I select it especially, because it is a specimen of the dexterity of the delusions which you proffer to the English Catholics. Speaking of Irish grievances, you say that they are principally either fancied, or, at least, grossly exaggerated. You add these words:—

“There are circumstances when ignorance is bliss; and I think if the people of Ireland were less instructed in their grievances, they would be much less conscious of them, and live in a happy ignorance of half the ills of which they now so loudly complain. Were it not for O'Connell we should never hear of Repeal; should never hear of 50,000 annual murders perpetrated by cold, famine, and disease, and most charitably divided between the Irish landlords and British misrule! And this, gentle reader, from him who has ever been the loudest to extol (and I am sure very justly so) the charitable benevolence of his own countrymen, and the most strenuous to oppose the introduction of Poor Laws.” (Page 23.)

This is indeed a specimen of your *savoir faire*. It condenses so many faults and follies, that it would be supremely ridiculous, if it were not imbued with qualities of a criminal nature. How truly ignorant you are of the people of Ireland! Or rather, what trouble you take to forget what the Irish people really are! That shrewd, that sensible people, that people whose tact exceeds intellect, are, forsooth, in your opinion so brutally stupid, that of half the ills whereof they now so loudly complain they would be unconscious, and in a happy ignorance, if they were not instructed (that is your word) in their grievances. Your assertion is, that of the grievances of which the Irish complain, some are grossly exaggerated, others are merely fanciful, and the one-half do not exist at all. According to you, O'Connell is to blame for all. It is I who have invented them. They exist in my statement, but not in reality. I have “instructed” the people to believe in their existence! The Irish, you tell us, are so stupid, that they believe they are aggravated, only because I tell them they are so; and that they loudly complain of the imaginary grievances, taking them not from reality, but from my word!

Softly, good my lord. Gently! There was a time when I was not the best instructor, or even the sole instructor of the Irish people as to their grievances. Let us see, when it was your interest to describe Ireland as she was, and is, how you "instructed" the Irish as to the evils they suffered. Then, my lord, you taught the Irish that their best and only hope was to look for the weakness and humiliation of England.

"For," said your lordship, "the day of England's prosperity has never yet been a day of grace or justice to Ireland."*

I now quote from the next page, where you tell us that—

"History, which is philosophy teaching by example, shows that the monsters whom regenerated England employed to govern Ireland, have mowed down whole generations of Papists at a stroke; ravaging the field with fire and sword, in the hopeful expectation that a harvest of Protestants would arise; when, lo and behold! in lieu of Protestantism, Popery springs up again; but only to be cut down once more, and to be cast again into the fire. Still the crop of Protestants never once grew up. The land was obstinate and impracticable; and in spite of every new system of experimental cultivation, has continued as barren of Protestantism and as fertile of Popery ever since."†

Again, in a few pages forward, you refer to the condition of Ireland:—

"Parliament," you say, "has devised one scheme of emigration after another; has expended thousands in Charter School grants, and thousands in the draining of bogs. But misery still reigns predominant, and threatens the very existence of the country."‡

In the next page you describe:—

"The yearly droves of ragged and hungry Irish peasants, a faint portrait of the still greater misery they leave behind, who traverse England in search of a precarious subsistence."§

* "Reasons," &c., second edition, p. xxxix.

† *Ibid.* pp. xl, xli. ‡ *Ibid.* p. li. § *Ibid.* p. l.

You add the hostility with which those Irish peasants were met by the English labourers; and you continue thus—I like to quote the passage twice:—

“But the spirit which actuates this feeling of hostility amongst the peasantry of England to the poor, wandering, and expatriated sons of Erin, is the same which has ever governed the higher classes in their treatment of that unhappy country.”*

Such were your “instructions” when you had an interest in teaching the people of Ireland. You were then as ready to admit the existence and reality, and the unendurable nature of these grievances, as I could be! There was then no paltry sneering on your part at miseries which, even when described in your eloquent style, appear much diminished of their sad and sorrowful reality.

You now accuse me of stirring up strife between the two countries; of calumniating the English, and misrepresenting their dispositions towards the Irish. But when it suited your own purposes, you emphatically proclaimed that “England’s prosperity was Ireland’s oppression;” for that the day of England’s prosperity was “never a day of grace or justice to Ireland.” You then yourself proclaimed this very sentiment, even more extensively than I did—that the English people “high and low, great and small, were equally hostile to the poor sons of Erin.” I love to adopt your words.

There was, however, part of the counsel which you suggested to the people of Ireland at that time, which I condemned then and condemn now. Mark this—mark the disloyal suggestion in the following passage. You say—

“In wretchedness the Irish outvie those Papists of the East, the very Greeks themselves, without being equally fortunate in attracting the compassion or good will of the nation. The Greek dies nobly in the field, and his death is sweetened with the compassionate regard of the whole civilized world, while the victim of English bigotry pines out a miserable existence,

* “Reasons,” &c., p. lii.

or sinks under the slow, but deadly poison of disease and famine, with scarcely a heart to lament him.”*

You were hurrying us on a little too fast, Earl of Shrewsbury. But we were too wise and too loyal to take your hint, or to believe from you that death would be “sweetened” by sanguinary rebellion.

Look at the passages I have just quoted from your former work, and then blush for shame. Blush for your falsehood, if you think you have stated untruths. Blush, if you have stated the truth (as you certainly have done), for your malignant calumny upon those who continue to repeat your truths. But, above all and before all, sink with shame to the earth at the absurdity of supposing that the Irish do not know and understand their own grievances; or that they would be in “happy ignorance” (!) if they were not told of their miseries. Even John Bull himself, who is not the most perceptive of animals, is beginning to perceive that an empty belly is, after all, no joke.

Having disposed of the matter of “the fictitious grievances of the Irish”—(would to heaven that they were fictitious!)—let me revert to another part of the lengthened paragraph which I have above extracted from your letter at page 23.

You there sneer at me for my praise of the charity and benevolence of the Irish people; and in particular for my opposition to the Poor Law. Are you aware that the Irish Poor Law is much more harsh and cruel than that of England? Are you aware that the commissioners are more despotic than in England? Are you aware that no relief whatever—no! not to the extent of a single sixpence!—is, or can be, given out of the workhouse? Are you aware that the same cruel separation of families takes place here as with you? Are you, above all things, aware that what could have easily been foretold has already occurred—that sectarian prejudice has already made

* “Reasons,” &c., p. lv.

the poorhouse in more than one locality an instrument of vexation, if not of actual persecution, to the Catholics? and that this spirit is naturally, nay, necessarily, fated to increase under the inauspicious reign of the present Administration—those friends whom you cherish and for whom you do battle? Are you aware that, although from this wretchedly impoverished city upwards of £30,000 in the last year have been expended, and in this year more than £40,000 must be levied; yet both our union workhouses are completely full; not one additional pauper can be received, though the gates are thronged with the imploring destitute! Our streets are crowded with mendicants, and our institutions of voluntary charity feel the pressure of claimants beyond their means of relief, and are struggling in a precarious state of existence; whilst the poor-law establishment itself costs as much money as would, if judiciously applied, relieve much, very much, of our destitution.

I thank you, my lord, for your sneer at my opposition to the Poor Law. It was not courteous, but it was useful to me. I was opposed to the Poor Law. I am so still. Other measures should have preceded it; measures of utility to the resuscitation of Ireland; and even then it should have been so essentially different from the present law, as not to be recognisable as belonging to the same category.

I assure you, my lord, that I have now most numerous converts to my opinion; and those who vilified me once upon this topic now laud my sagacity.

Although I have thus received with moderation and temper your sneering insinuation respecting my opposition to the Poor Law, how shall I be able to control my disgust and abhorrence of the contemptuous levity with which you treat the annual perishing of myriads of the Irish people from cold, famine, and disease?

You treat as something monstrous, my representation of the loss that Ireland sustains in her population, of 50,000 persons annually. Cold, cruel, heartless man as you are—how dare you throw the cloak of your protection over this wholesale

destruction? Mine a misstatement! Mine an exaggeration! Look at the statistics—look at the census for 1821—then look at that for 1831—then at that for 1841. You will there find that the population of Ireland increased between 1821 and 1831, by 965,570; whilst they increased between 1831 and 1841 by only 437,980; making a difference in the last ten years of 527,590; and thus giving for each year of the last ten years, a defalcation, not of 50,000, as I had expressed it in round numbers, but of 52,729 souls, as actual enumeration demonstrates.

What has produced this extraordinary difference between the two periods? Not emigration; for there was as much emigration in the first ten years as in the last—perhaps more. What has then produced it? The Depopulating System; the Irish landlords who cleared their farms of human beings to augment the number of oxen and swine; and the Tory faction, then, as landlords, now in power, who countenance the exterminators.

As you are so anxious to turn the English Catholics over to the ranks of the Tories, in support of the present Administration, you may hear with some not very Christian pleasure, that the Irish Tory Government has chosen for its legal adviser at the Castle, a barrister, who has been accused, without contradiction, of having depopulated his property of 173 Catholics, to make room for four families, of whom three were Protestants, and the fourth differing nothing in politics, and probably not much more in religion, from the Protestants.

Yes, my lord. You may sneer at me for saying that 50,000 of the Irish perish yearly of cold, famine, and disease. But how else can you account for this diminution in our population? You, yourself—I have quoted your words—you have said that the Irish peasants perished by the deadly poison of disease and famine, with scarcely a heart to lament them. You, indeed, have no heart to bewail them! If you had, could you assail with ribaldry and with little jests, the man who in sober melancholy deplores the misery of his fellow-countrymen, and con-

signs to execration, as murderers, those who cause them to perish?

You cannot deny that they perish. In what silken terms shall you treat their slayers?—or how will you palliate the crimes they commit against man and against God? Ireland has not ceased to be fertile and naturally productive. No blight has come upon her plains. No sterility has visited her soil. The blessings of nature, the bounties of Providence, are as abundant in the last decade as in the former. Sneer at me as you please; be as ribald towards me as you choose. You do well to pass over with flippant and fastidious levity this the depopulation of the Irish nation. But how can you account for the wholesale destruction of human life in any other way than the cruelty of the landlords, and the ungenial rule of the Government?

In 1828, when you published your “Reasons for not taking the Test,” in aid of the interests of your order, and in the promotion of your own worldly objects, you stated the fact that the Irish Catholics “outvied in wretchedness the unhappy Greeks; while as victims of England they either pined out a miserable existence, or sank beneath the slow but deadly poison of disease and famine.” I have, therefore, your own testimony of the then existing misery of the people of Ireland.

Since that time, the Commissioners of Poor Law Inquiry have ascertained by actual enumeration, that no less than 2,300,000 of the Irish poor require charitable relief for at least a portion of each year. I did, my lord, extol, and loudly extol the charitable benevolence of my countrymen; and, though you taunt and deride me for doing so, I repeat my praise. For, my lord, this multitude of paupers, whilst they may blame bad government for their wretchedness, found, as many of them still find, the means of existence in the benevolence of their fellow-countrymen, though almost as wretched as they were themselves—an instance of charitable benevolence, with such limited means, more extensive than that afforded by any other people on the face of the globe.

There remains one phrase in the paragraph which I have last quoted from your pamphlet and commented on, which deserves to stand forth in all the prominence of capitals. Here are your words :—" Were it not for O'Connell we should never hear of Repeal."

If I were disposed to use harsh language, might I not ask how you could presume to make such an assertion? But I will limit myself to asking, whether any man, circumstanced as you are, ever made so unwise and self-derogatory an assertion?

Mark me—until Emancipation was obtained, I postponed all agitation of the Repeal of the Union. But I would not be guilty of any deception. I therefore publicly avowed that the Repeal was my ulterior object; and I declared, and acted on the declaration, that it should remain in abeyance until Emancipation was obtained.

But what was your conduct? Listen, Earl of Shrewsbury, to the following paragraph relative to Ireland :—

" To say nothing of days long since gone by, the bare memory of which harrows up the very soul, let us cast a glance at the history of times so recent as to be within the recollection of all; and when neither ignorance, nor barbarism, nor any fancied provocation to vengeance can plead an excuse, or even offer a palliation for the wrongs we (the English) have inflicted. No details are requisite to illustrate the picture. The shades are so deep, and the general gloom that pervades the whole piece is so profound, as to be visible to all. Goaded into rebellion by the wily policy of a wicked and ambitious minister; then terrified by the atrocities committed in her subjugation; she was inveigled into a renunciation of her rights and a resignation of her independence. While thus captivated by bribes, overawed by threats, and deceived by promises, in an evil hour did she consent to throw herself on the mercy of her relentless master. She has never ceased to repent her folly; for she has been a slave instead of an honourable partner. Though full seven-and-twenty years have elapsed since her marriage articles were signed, and she became legally betrothed to her imperious lord, during which period she has ever most religiously comported herself as a dutiful and submissive consort, she has never been permitted to solemnize her nuptials but by mourning and by sorrow. As yet the note of gladness has never yet dwelt upon her ear, nor happiness

ever settled on her brow; neither has she been decked in her bridal dress, nor partaken of her bridal banquet. The fruits of a happy union have never yet appeared, neither was it to be expected that they should. For there was too much of fraud and violence necessary to effectuate the marriage contract. There was too wide a departure from the principles upon which alone a happy alliance could be founded, ever to allow her to look to other consequences than those which have rendered this union so abortive of good, and so prolific of evil. Being only a union of words and not of hearts, deficient in all the qualities necessary for a legal marriage, *she has just cause to demand a dissolution of that tie*, which could only have been valid and effectual by the free consent of the contracting parties, and by the strict fulfilment of the stipulated conditions."

Your language becomes too prurient for me to quote more—nor is it necessary.

But in sober truth it is all but utterly incredible that you should be the author of the paragraph I have now quoted; that you should, twelve years ago, have written and published so strong a reprobation of the Union, and so ardent an appeal for the dissolution of that tie; and yet that you should have also published the assertion that "Were it not for O'Connell, we never should hear of Repeal!"

It may be accounted for, as some wicked wags assert, you used the pen and the head of some assistant composer, and only graced the composition of another with your name, and the style, title, and dignity of your blushing honours. If that be so (which I do not believe), the individual who wrote in 1828 the first paragraph, may have been other and different from him who wrote the charge against me in 1841. Thus you might possibly escape the guilt of plain, palpable, untruthful contradiction.

If, on the other hand, you wrote both the first and the last paragraphs; if you in 1828 wrote that most powerful and eloquent passage demonstrating the fitness of the Repeal of the Union, without ever having had the slightest communication or connection with me upon the subject; if you also wrote and deliberately published in 1841, "That were it not for O'Connell we should never hear of Repeal,"—mark you,

"never!" why, in this state of facts, I must say you occupy as unenviable a position as any human being possibly can be placed in, who either possesses or affects a regard for veracity. Would to Heaven that some one would buy a parrot, and teach him to cry in your ear, "That were it not for O'Connell, you should never hear of Repeal!"

Read once more your description of the causes and consequences of the Union; and then recollect what it was for which you accused me of "want of charity—of justice—of truth;" in exciting "hatred and animosity" between the two countries; then, if you have the sentiments of a Christian, or the feelings of a man, retract—repent—amend!

Delighted as I may be at this exhibition of a man who, without the smallest provocation, save the gratitude he owes me, has assailed me in a tone of such unjustifiable virulence, I must not in the hilarity of my triumph forget the interests of Ireland.

You alleged in your anti-Union paragraph that Ireland "consented" to throw herself on the mercy of her "relentless master," meaning thereby England. You are mistaken. Ireland never consented to the Union, as I shall presently show more in detail. Ireland never did—Ireland does not—Ireland will never consent to the Union. She suffers it only until the favourable moment occurs to dissolve it, and by dissolving it to render the connection with the British Crown perpetual.

There remains much more matter deserving of comment in your letter. Though it is not easy to see what is the drift of your leading idea, the *grande pensée* of your mind is the sustentation of the Corn Laws. The second object seems to be a preposterous and most uncalled-for attack upon me. The third consists in your endeavour to attach the banner of English Catholicity to the arch of triumph of the Tory Administration. The first of these I have disposed of. On the second I have said more than enough. Of the third, the most ungracious of all, little more remains to be told. I

cannot help, however, noticing the fatal facility with which you persuade yourself of the actual existence of that which is only the deceptive creature of your imagination. It is this; in page 36, you say :—

“ There is abundant proof that the Duke of Wellington, Sir Robert Peel, and even Lord Lyndhurst, from their own solemn and deliberate declarations, did fully and fairly intend to carry out the Catholic Relief Bill in a spirit of just equality.”

Let me assure you, that, instead of “ abundant proof,” there is no proof at all of any such thing, but emphatically and directly the reverse. During the discussion on the Catholic Relief Bill, Peel repeatedly insisted on the great advantages Protestantism would derive from conciliating the prejudices of the Catholics; this he insisted on as the leading reason of the concession to the Catholics. The Duke of Wellington proclaimed his intention to give them a legal, as contradistinguished from a practical equality; and he has been perfectly consistent ever since. He has always declared that the Government should encourage the Protestants. His repeated attacks upon Lord Melbourne’s Administration were principally on the grounds that it did not encourage the Protestants. His cuckoo-cry has always been—“ Encourage the Protestants.”

Now, you cannot encourage the Protestants, as such, without preferring them to and excluding the Catholics; and that, it is, of course, needless to say, is the game which the present Administration in Ireland are playing since they came into office.

I wish I could make you perceive in what an anomalous situation you place yourself, when you declare that you are the friend, patron, and advocate of the Tory Administration. How bitterly do the people of Ireland feel your cruelty, when they hear that the Catholic Earl of Shrewsbury is the ally and advocate of our present governors!—when they see the consistent enemy of Catholic education selected for the coif!—when they see the private legal adviser of the Castle chosen

from amongst the avowed depopulators of Ireland!—when they behold Serjeant Jackson (for his name, at all events, must have reached you, and therefore description is unnecessary) appointed Solicitor-General!—when they feel that Dr. Lefroy is raised to the supreme bench of justice; a man, than whom a more unrelenting enemy of Catholicity never existed; he, whose opposition to the Catholic Emancipation Bill was carried to such an extent, as to declare that the passing of it into law would dissolve the duty of allegiance to the Crown; when they feel that he is to have the disposal of their properties, their liberties, and their lives—when they perceive that the stipendiary magistrates (whose real responsibility made them honest, or, at least, kept them so) are in progress of dismissal; and when they hear, shuddering, of the augmentation to the magisterial bench of irresponsible persons who are not the friends of Catholic Ireland; when they hear, and know, and feel all this, and much more; and when they learn that you, a Catholic earl, are the advocate, supporter, and ally, upon principle of this ungenial Government; oh! with what a hearty execration they will scathe your name, exclaiming, "He may be Catholic, but is he not English?" Blame them not, my lord. You yourself told them that "the feeling of hostility amongst the operatives of England to the poor sons of Ireland is the same which has ever governed the higher classes in their treatment of that unhappy country."

Your Tory friends and allies have not contented themselves with merely disturbing the sources of justice. They have not been satisfied with selecting partisans for all-important offices. The influence of their deeds has gone infinitely farther than the powers of public functionaries. It has rallied the scattered spirits of Orangeism. The yell of "To hell with the Pope!" is again heard triumphant, and that stream of Catholic blood which the Whigs first checked and then stopped, outpours again.

Instead of sneering and taunting us, Catholics of Ireland, do but take up some of the honest Irish newspapers; in particular, take the trouble of reading the *Belfast Vindicator*; you

will find the repetition of outrages which mark the action of Toryism in Ireland since its last restoration to power. In one number of that paper in the present month, no less than four atrocious outrages are detailed so circumstantially as to excite that lively interest which the certainty of their truth ought to inspire.

I mean to inflict them all upon you ; but in order to induce you into the perusal, I begin with the lightest :—

“ CORNBREANY, DEC. 30, 1841.—About nine o'clock, on the night of Monday last, a number of Orangemen were observed walking along the road leading from Lurgan to Bleary, with guns in their hands, singing *Orange* songs. When they arrived at the residence of a man named Owen M'Nierney, they fired three shots at his house, and struck the door violently with the butts of their guns, shouting ferociously, 'To hell with the Pope!' After they had wreaked their wrath sufficiently upon this family, they withdrew cheering in a most frightful manner. When this insulted man thought it safe to open his door, he observed the wadding burning on the top of the house ; and were it not that the day was wet, thus preventing the thatch from taking fire, in all probability the house would have been consumed.”

The second is under the same date, and has features of a peculiar character. You will perceive the artillery soldiers were engaged in it. You may also have an inkling of the mode in which justice is administered to the Catholics. You, who are so hearty a Tory, should, read, meditate, and inwardly digest these facts :—

“ CHARLEMONT.—The Orangemen of this place are never very backward in the work of destruction and riot. Worse, still, the artillery at present stationed here, are almost in the daily habit of abusing Catholics. A few days ago, one of these gallant sons of Mars went through the streets shouting 'To hell with the bloody Pope,' in a most furious manner. He then commenced an attack on the house of a Catholic named Ternison, who, in self-defence, retaliated, and struck the artilleryman. A few hours subsequently, Ternison and his journeyman were arrested in their beds by some of the Moy police, without any order from a magistrate, kept all night in Moy blackhole, and next day detained prisoners in Charlemont garrison, where they underwent a very lengthened examination, which terminated in the sending of Ter-

nison as a prisoner to Armagh gaol, guarded by a party of the 55th regiment. The result of the investigation has had the effect of stimulating the Royal Artillery to traverse nocturnally the streets of Charlemont, and abuse any Catholic who may chance to come in their way. On the night of the 28th instant, between the hours of eight and nine o'clock, two bombardiers, when within a few perches of the garrison, commenced shouting, 'To hell with the Pope!' About ten o'clock on Christmas night, the Orangemen of Moy and Charlemont went through the streets of the latter, shouting, 'To hell with the Pope!' when, as Simon, John, and Patrick Ryan, three Catholics, were passing through the town on their way home, they were attacked by a host of Orangemen, who abused them so inhumanly that they could not be conveyed to Mr. Olphert's, the nearest neighbouring magistrate."

The third requires no comment. Oh! how delighted we ought to be with the English Catholic allies of the present Administration!—that Administration for which you write, and for which the "political caitiff," Sir John Gerard, votes.

"On Christmas evening a number of the Orangemen of Killyman committed a most savage outrage in that locality. As two men, named Kennedy, were returning home, after accompanying the Catholic clergyman to his own house—the reverend gentleman having had a sick call from his sister-in-law—they were attacked at a place called Loughery's Corner, by a party of vagabonds, who commenced shouting, 'To hell with the Pope,' and throwing stones at them in such a violent manner, that the poor men were compelled to fly for refuge to the house of a Protestant named Fulton. Here the Kennedys did not remain long, on account of the riotous conduct of their opponents, who swore that if Fulton did not turn them out, they would pull his house about his ears. Fulton not being able to protect them, the persecuted men took to flight for the house of their brother, when they were again hotly pursued. They reached the place in safety; but the ruffians coming up immediately, commenced yelling hideously, throwing volley after volley of stones through the windows and against the door, until the latter was forced open. They then rushed in, and tore down the shelves and every other movable article they could lay their hands upon; never ceasing until they left the place an entire wreck. In the room lay the dying woman, the mother of seven young children, who were all with their parent at the time. Hearing the noise, the little creatures hid themselves under the bedding, thinking that thus they would be safer; but one of the ruffians hearing their cries, went up to the spot, and thrust a bayonet into the coverlet, plunging it into the head

of a boy nine years of age. One of the fellows then asked where the price of a cow was that Kennedy had sold the day before. Notwithstanding all his menaces, he did not succeed in this. Others, finding that the Kennedys had made their escape through a back window, went to the house of one of their brothers-in-law, named M'Gillian, and wrecked his house, tearing his webs, and smashing his weaving apparatus. Poor M'Gillian himself, who is a weak, infirm, old man, they forced to rise from his bed, encircling his body with the points of their bayonets. They then amused themselves by making him cry out, 'To hell with the Pope!' for some time, after which the ruffians left. Their worthy companions did not retire from Kennedy's until after the most urgent remonstrances on the part of a respectable Protestant named Wincross. The poor woman and the little wounded boy still remain in a very dangerous state."

There remains no more. It is indeed significant! I cannot detain you from perusing it: and then I will leave you to enjoy the comfortable reflection that this is the power you will consolidate and perpetuate. Aye, and you would do so—sacred heaven!—in the name of religion!—of the Catholic religion!

"The public will naturally desire to have the facts connected with the murder of M'Ardle calmly stated, and we give below the desired narrative, as furnished by an authority in every respect competent to the task:—

"A more cold-blooded or atrocious murder than that of M'Ardle was never perpetrated. Recollect, there was no riot, no drunken brawl, no provocation whatsoever. The facts are these:—The Orangemen of Shanaghan, who designate themselves by the sobriquet 'the Gold Pinks,' and others from the townlands of Moneyisland, Crosskilt, Drumadonald, and the neighbouring haunts, retired after the shooting match to a public-house on the road leading to Ratesbridge. Four Catholic boys, some of them sons of most respectable farmers in the neighbourhood, passed by where the Orangemen had assembled, and after passing quietly and peaceably down the road, went into another public-house, kept also by a Protestant. They had scarcely entered, when word was brought to the landlord of the house that the Orangemen were coming to murder them; and that their vengeance was particularly directed against one of the M'Ardles, son to Brian M'Ardle—a youth about nineteen years old, of most gigantic strength. At that age he weighed fourteen and a half stone, all bone and sinew; yet although of such amazing strength, he was one of the most harmless and inoffensive young men in the entire county. It is said that he never was heard of as being

engaged in a quarrel. The landlord humanely warned him against his danger, and sent him through a back window. He ran to the house of a Catholic named Murphy. The Orangemen, when they did not find him, assaulted those in the house, and afterwards pursued him in force into the house where he took refuge. After rendering him nearly senseless, they dragged him outside the door of the house. Two of the heartless murderers held him, whilst a third, placing the muzzle of a musket loaded with ball close to his heart, literally split the heart in two! Three more came up, and stabbed, and mangled the corpse with grape! His brother received a ball in the head, and is severely wounded. Others were wounded in like manner."

These extracts are taken from a single publication of the *Belfast Vindicator*. There is just placed before me the last *Tablet*—that of Saturday, the 15th of January. Look at page 40 for an extract from the same newspaper of a previous date. Read there the appalling fact, that since the restoration of the Orange Tory rule, four foul murders have been perpetrated in one county alone, the county of Down, during the last three months! Read, if you can, with a dry eye the story of old M'Ardle, roaming through the country with his murdered son's coat on his arm—a raving maniac!

Oh, Lord Shrewsbury! your friends, the Tories, have a strange way of showing the "joy and generosity of their triumph."

Perhaps this is what you meant, when you assured us at page 6, that the "new men"—as you fantastically called the Tory Administration—would in the "joy and generosity of their triumph" be guided by moderation! You cannot however be permitted to escape condign reprobation upon the poor pretext that you were ignorant of the Orange faction; that you were unacquainted with the iniquitous and sanguinary spirit of that party. No, my lord, I cannot allow you to escape censure on any such pretext. You wrote a book—you wrote a precious book. How sagacious was the exclamation, "Oh, that mine enemy would write a book!" Mine enemy has—thanks to my kindly stars—written a book. Let me give you one more quotation from it, to seal your literary and political fate for ever and for aye. Here it is:—

"Ireland is given over to a malevolent faction which, like a raging lion, goeth about seeking whom it may devour—which not only preys, but gorges on its victims: a faction against which innocence is no protection, and a verdict of "not guilty" no acquittal; and to brighten her prospects for the future, her avowed and determined enemies are placed at the head of the government. Good God! when will the follies of your rulers cease?"

• Was there ever a passage disclosing a more perfect knowledge of the subject? It is a passage of perpetual truth and ever-living accuracy. It is the history of the passing day. But what a most monstrous and unnatural alliance is that which subsists between him who wrote that paragraph and the "avowed and determined enemies of Ireland," whom he then described and has now embraced, and amongst whom he is numbered. Alas, for consistency!

It is with pain I am forced to declare that it is difficult to calculate arithmetically the number of shapes in which, in so short a pamphlet, you have rendered yourself the scoff and scorn of the thinking portion of mankind. And even your attempts to escape from the ludicrous position which you have adopted raise the sense of ridicule to so high a pitch as to cease to excite merriment, and to render you only worthy of commiseration.

The most ridiculous of all is the effort you make to justify a rebellion, if it had happened in the attainment of Catholic Emancipation. Your classic quotation, "*in extremis extrema tentanda sunt*," goes the full length of revolutionary determination. Pamper yourself with notions of loyalty as much as you please; it is a Jacobin, a Chartist phrase, redolent of physical force and sanguinary violence. It seems as if you had preached the doctrine, that the immense good of the end to be achieved justifies any means of achievement. If that be your sentiment, you ought to know that such a maxim directly contradicts Catholic doctrine and morality. You, however, insist upon it; you assert, at page 17, that while you were struggling for Emancipation the object then was great, distinct, and pressing; it was worth the risk—aye, the risk of insurrection, rebellion, revolution. You add, indeed, that the danger was small. You,

however, embrace it; and now avow that you were determined to embrace it in every extremity.

Good my lord, I do assure you I was totally unaware that so humble an agitator as myself had for one of my colleagues so decided a revolutionist as your lordship. To be sure, I knew full well that there was no danger of insurrectionary violence or rebellion. But, whilst I was arranging my civic forces for Parliamentary victory, you, it seems, had your imagination full of tented fields and glorious deeds of arms. In your martial ardour you dreamt of an Irish Cressy, Poitiers, or Agincourt. Instead of being the Talbot of peaceable and indefensible Towers, you were in your visions of glory converted into another Talbot of a hundred fights—the triumphant vanquisher on the ensanguined field of slain.

But, in sober sadness, this is precious! Your personal interests were involved in the contest at that time. A question of the utmost importance and value to you, individually, was agitated. The contest involved your elevation from a political state of the lowest degradation to the high rank, privileges, and prerogatives of the proudest earl in England. Accordingly, everybody is called upon by you to admit that, in order to win for you this gemmed and glittering prize, no agitation could be too violent, no declamation too inflammatory, no eloquence too overpowering, no constituted authority could be bearded with too much ferocity, no organisation could be too revolutionary! Even if all this and much more had existed, you have justified it all in five words—"It was worth the risk."

It is necessary for me to contrast the overweening preference which you give to the cause in which were involved your personal interests and privileges, with the contemptuous indifference with which you treat the more tranquil and more patriotic movement which now animates the peaceful and determined myriads of Irishmen in looking for the Repeal of the Union. That Repeal is a national cause. It involves a question between legislative independence and entire servitude. I need only appeal to your own eloquent words already quoted, descriptive

of some of the evils that have flowed from the Union. But you have not, my lord, described the one-half of these evils. You yourself have told us that your countrymen, "high and low, great and small," hate us. And they have now an opportunity of working out that hatred. You have described the incessant and unmitigated horrors which England has inflicted on us even before the baleful Union, and which you showed to continue down to your date in 1828. The Poor Law Commission had since brought to light the frightful accession of subsequent misery. The accumulating recurrence of destitution and pestilence mark its frightful progress. Another famine is impending; while our "avowed and determined enemies" (how I thank you for the words!) are placed at the head of the Government.

Your pamphlet may be reduced in the language of common sense to a few words! containing the full scope and meaning of your Irish politics. Whilst your own interest was involved in the political contest in Ireland then it was lawful and commendable to incur any risk, to undergo any danger, in order to attain your object. But now it is culpable in the extreme to make any exertion, to continue any agitation for the political rights, the prosperity, or the liberty of Ireland.

For myself; whilst I was labouring not merely with, but—what is infinitely more important—for you, there was no encouragement too vivid, no praise too exaggerated to be bestowed by you upon me. Now, when, as I readily admit, nothing can be achieved for you but the giving you in a higher degree that which you already enjoy; now, indeed, the tables are sadly turned, and no censure can be too severe, no insinuation can be too degrading, no invective too gross to be bestowed on me by you.

Perhaps these things are consistent with integrity and simple honesty; but full certain I am that they do not consist with that high, chivalrous spirit which fears to soil its robes of dignity because it knows that a stain is worse than a wound.

There is something yet more distressing in the contempla-

tion of your fallen estate. It is this. You mix up religion!—religion!—the repetition of religion! in your pamphlet with unsuitable companions until the blood boils with indignant sorrow! And then you range religion under such strange banners! You at once disclaim the Liberal party in every clime and country; and you place the most sacred cause of religion under the sole protection of the various despotisms and absolute powers in Christendom! You declare, or at least you plainly suggest, despotism to be the only protector of the Catholic religion.

Is this wise, is it prudent, but what is infinitely more, is it true? Here I meet you foot to foot, and dare you to the combat. I take my position on this, that the despotisms of the world are unfavourable to religion; and, on the other hand, that the Liberal opinions in politics, 'mid the party of the bloodless movement, are favourable to the culture of all the moral virtues, and to the development of the great truths of religion, and, in particular, to the maintenance and propagation of Catholic verity and of the Catholic Church.

The real Liberal party almost respect all the sacred as well as profane rights of our fellow-men.

The absolutism which you cherish is the promoter and patron of every immorality and practical vice. Look at the courts of all absolute sovereigns, ancient and modern, and, with few and rare exceptions, you will find them teeming with every sensual gratification which violates the rules of morality and the laws of God. The total absence of responsibility leaves the bad passions without any human restraint, and naturally seduces into the indulgence of the sensual and criminal appetites. It was from the court of France that the practice of domestic profligacy took its abundant source, and deeply inundated the entire land with immorality; that immorality which produced and was punished by the demoniacal horrors of the Revolution.

The Church, too, suffers grievously from despotic sovereigns. In fact, the far greater part of her history consists in struggles against the encroachments of despotic power. Absolute monarchs have, at all times, refused to make the distinction be-

tween the dominion over temporal concerns (a dominion which is of their province) and authority in spiritual affairs, which is of a higher order, and belongs to the Church of God alone. Uncontrolled in their sway over the lives and fortunes, the laws and institutions, of their subjects, they have, at all times, desired and endeavoured to control the consciences and govern the spiritual concerns of their people.

Their irregular and wicked ambition has led them to usurp, on every possible occasion, that jurisdiction which the Divine Redeemer has vested in the Head of the Catholic Church. Despotic sovereigns have constantly interfered with the communications from the See of Rome to the clergy and laity of their dominions; communications so essentially necessary to maintain the unity of faith and discipline. They have insisted on the direct appointment, or an absolute control over the nomination of episcopal sees, and to important spiritual dignities. They have substituted, wherever they could, the sword of State for the staff of the Great Pastor; and they have assumed for the tyrants of the earth dominion over the sacred things of God. These are not fanciful statements; they are practical grievances and crimes illustrated by the history of every Christian country that has been subject to despotic rule. In despotic states, these crimes are practised at the present day as well as at former periods. The greatest despot in Europe is the greatest enemy to religion, and especially of the Catholic Church. The monster Nicholas ought to be the *beau-ideal* of your political imagination; and, accordingly, he is the greatest persecutor of Catholicity who has lived since the days of Dioclesian. Talk to me, after this, of the danger you apprehend from the Liberal movement party! To go a little back, the monarch of France, when he enjoyed absolute power, was, from the reign of Philip to that of Louis XVI., the tyrant of the Church. Under the name of Gallican liberties, a real servitude was constructed; and the progress, first of Jansenism, and afterwards of infidelity, might, perhaps, be traced to the triply-fettered state of the clergy. In Spain, and in Portugal, too, the kings were no less despotic

over the clergy and the Church than they were over the people at large. With the appearances of much Catholicity, religion suffered from the servitude of the clergy to the state. And it was in despotic Portugal and Spain that the first edicts were issued for the suppression of the great support of literature and religion—the society of the Jesuits.

But, to turn to the times we live in ; in Protestant Prussia, where perfect absolutism reigns, the Catholic Church is in thralldom, and in, as yet, unbroken chains. You may, perhaps, say it is because Prussia is Protestant. I say she works out her Protestantism through her despotism ; and, but for the undying but not tumultuary resistance of the Catholic movement party there, Catholicity would be annihilated in the Prussian dominions.

What will you say to Austria ? the most Catholic monarchy at present in Europe. Yet, I ask you, if the Catholic Church is not there in perfect thralldom ? Does not the Emperor claim power and authority over the Catholic Church almost as great as that arrogated by Henry VIII. ? The late Emperor was personally a religious man, most attentive to all acts of private devotion ; yet he never relaxed the iron grasp which the crafty Metternich made him take of the Church. Nothing can be more painful to a rational Catholic, than to think of the degrading rule of a temporal magistrate over the spiritual functionaries. In the Austrian dominions the clergy and the corporals are appointed after the same fashion, and bound alike to the state by the same implicit unreasoning submission. Besides the crime of thus usurping spiritual authority, religion suffers to the core from the disregard and contempt to which a clergy thus appointed and constituted are necessarily subject ; a state-dependent clergy are always detested or despised. It is, therefore, perfectly clear you are thoroughly mistaken, when you imagine that absolutism is useful to religion or to the Catholic Church.

Here, again, I have reason to complain of your mode of

acting. You endeavour by your advocacy, as a Catholic, of the Corn Laws, to stain Catholicity itself with the guilt of that sordid monopoly. You endeavour, by your advocacy of the prudence of deserting the fallen fortunes of the Whigs, to stain Catholicity with the deepest, the blackest, the most causeless ingratitude that ever dishonoured public men. You endeavour by your assertion of the utility to religion of despotism, to stain Catholicity itself with the foul blot of servility and of attachment to arbitrary power. My humble endeavour is, to rescue the sacred cause of the Catholic Church from all the defilement of your mistaken advocacy. My conviction thoroughly is, that the real Liberal party—the peaceful movement party—is that which can alone produce salutary results to man, and also, that it most conduces to the good of religion and the just independence of the Catholic Church. It is therefore that I am the humble, but most zealous supporter of that peaceable Liberal party which, for shortness, I shall call the movement party. I cherish it as the best hope of rational freedom. I cherish it, because I am the friend of perfect liberty to every man, of every colour, cast, and creed, throughout the world. I cherish it, because, by leaving conscience unscathed by temporal or legal restrictions, it predisposes man to listen to the sweet soft voice of persuasive truth, and thus give to Catholicity its genuine influence, whilst it secures the Catholic Church itself from the blighting effects of state power, and from the tyrannic sway of temporal authority.

You have one great advantage over me. You dexterously confound the “peaceable liberal party” to which I belong, with the sanguinary wretches who polluted France with blood under the assumed names of “Liberals” and “Friends of Freedom.” You confound with us the persons who in many parts of Europe assume the name of Liberals, not because they are the friends of liberty, but because they are the enemies of religion. Several of these mock Liberals have sought to disturb Italy, and have failed. But their mock liberality is triumphant

in Spain, where the vile Espartero revels, amidst his ill-gotten power, in sanguinary persecution of the Catholic clergy and Church.

I belong not to such parties. I am more their enemy than you are. The party to which I belong has a necessary tendency to promote private morality and the practice of every public virtue.

Yes! With a popular Government, private morality is under the guard of public opinion. And a free press has frequently more control, is more potential to restrain the enormity of vice, than the influence of much teaching. In a popular Government, legitimate ambition can be best gratified through the channels of popular elections; and no man can afford to undergo the ordeal of a democratic election, unless his private character and moral conduct are so correct as to enable him to defy any serious accusation of guilt or turpitude.

It may be said that I exaggerate the good effects of democratic institutions. But it cannot possibly be denied, that the efficacy of public opinion in such institutions, must have considerable influence in causing men to be really that which they would wish others to believe them to be.

It is to the Church—to the Catholic Church—that the honest spirit of democracy ought to be, and must be, the most useful. In an honest democracy, there would be no paramount interest to subjugate the Church, or to seek to make it the creature of the state. The respect which each person would claim for his own opinion, would require of him to treat with equal justice the opinions of others; and the hopelessness of establishing a clerical ascendancy would take away from sectarianism the temptation to turbulence and the temporal reward of bigotry. Under such a Government, the Church would be free; uncontrolled by temporal enactments, and totally unchecked by legislative restrictions. The intercourse with the centre of unity would be as unfettered as the intercourse by letter through the post office. And the hierarchy would meet no impediment in their arrangements touching spiritual matters, which thus would

be for ever separated from merely political concerns. The differences on matters of belief between various classes of Christians, would be left open to free discussion and tranquil reasoning. And from contests of that description, the Catholic Church would have everything to hope and nothing to fear.

That religion and the Church would be left free under a popular Government is not mere matter of theory. Its practical proofs abound. And as I began with the effects on religion of despotism in Russia, I will now first refer to the political antipodes of that country—the United States of America. Here, if anywhere, the democratic spirit exists, and animates the entire Government; and here religion extends, and the Church accordingly prospers. When the thirteen states were provinces of Great Britain, there was no Catholic bishop in British America. Even after their independence was established, there was but one bishop. Behold how gloriously that Church now stands forward! There are now in the United States one archbishop, and twenty bishops—in all twenty-one. Catholicity is spreading at every side. The English travellers, notwithstanding all their paltry prejudices against the Catholic religion, admit—I use their own words—that its increase is “rapid”—“surprising”—“enormous.” Some of them, in the excess of their fears, excited by the facts that surrounded them, declare that all the professing Christians of America will speedily be Catholics; whilst others, restrained by their prejudice, limit that pleasing anticipation to what are called the Western countries; that is, the great valleys of Ohio, Missouri, and Mississippi; immense, almost incalculable tracts of fertile countries, rapidly becoming peopled with myriads of human beings, all destined to be Catholics.

From America let us pass rapidly to the banks of the Rhine, and there you will find that the protection of Catholicity against the despotism of Prussia, to which I have already alluded, is entirely due to the spirit of the movement among the people. Men imbued, like you, with the apathy arising from Tory opinion, would have submitted, and acquiesced, and permitted

the mischief to be completed, whilst you hoped for something good to arise at some future period from the "joy and generosity" of your triumphant enemies. The Rhenish people were not of that disposition; the groundswell of popular discontent that presages the coming storm was distinctly perceived; and the throes of the struggling, though pent-up volcano, were becoming daily more and more perceptible. Then indeed, but not before, the Prussian Government deemed it prudent to recognise the causes of coming mischief, and to promise (and at least in part to perform the promise) to give more freedom and security to the Catholic Church in the Prussian dominions. Thanks to the movement and spirit of the people for this, or perhaps, shortly, a more useful result.

May you not, my lord, pause for one moment upon Ireland, and see whether her moral condition has not improved during our democratic struggle for extended freedom.

I might incur again your contemptuous sneer if I were to praise my loved fellow-countrymen as they really deserve. But, without meaning you any offence, I may be permitted to remark that the only country in the world capable of exhibiting the moral miracle of upwards of four millions of human beings pledged to perfect sobriety, is my country—Ireland! You cannot deny that this result has been produced after the moral elements of political strife were raised into agitation, and kept in commotion longer and more continuously than in any other country in Europe, thus proving that the democratic principle has its tendency to elevate the mind and improve the moral tact of feeling. We are, my lord, eminently a Catholic people. Our glorious and unbroken hierarchy—the unclouded jewel of our once national crown, is in perfect canonical submission and in perfect Catholic attachment to the centre of unity—the Holy See.

We do combine the principle of the fullest civil liberty with the most entire religious fidelity to the faith and doctrine of the Catholic Church. Even I myself cannot resist the impulse that makes me declare, that, whilst no man living is a more

ardent and undeviating advocate of the purest principles of democratic liberty than I am, so there is not in Christendom any one human being more submissive to the authority of the Church, or more obedient to the voice of her Chief Pastor.

My individual opinions on these subjects are, I well know, of no importance or value for being mine. They are deserving of attention and respect only because of their identity with those of the universal Catholic people of Ireland.

There is much in your pamphlet which has given me pain—bitter pain; it grieves me exceedingly to see the Catholic Earl of Shrewsbury exhibit such rankling prejudices against the development of the principles of civil liberty. Why, you carry this envenomed prejudice to so great an extent, as actually to tarnish with your suspicions and doubts the glorious and successful struggles of the Belgian people in the sacred cause of religion and liberty.

Do you recollect the state of the Belgians before their “glorious and immortal” revolution? Loaded with an enormous public debt, which the Belgians never contracted, never got value for, and did not justly owe; oppressed by cruel taskmasters, “aliens in blood, in language, and in religion;” impoverished to support those oppressors in riot and luxury, they endured all the political evils that misgovernment could inflict. But still worse was the state of their religious sufferings. Protestantism has in itself something so foreign from stability or security, that it must necessarily be intolerant of dissent. Besides the scheme of the late king, whose mantle (rather the worse for the wear) has fallen on the present monarch, his scheme, I say, to form a great Protestant power in the centre of Europe, of which he was to be the chief leader, was eagerly embraced by the King of the Netherlands, under the auspices of the English Tory government. The Belgian Catholics were accordingly persecuted with emaciating rigour; not the persecution of the sword and the faggot, and of the other cruelties of the Vandermucks and the Sonois of former days, which, though they inflicted the pains, yet conferred the

glory of martyrdom. No! the persecution of the Netherland king was of a low, pettifogging, unhonouring nature. It was more like the rancour of an envious trader, and more suited to the malignity of an undersold manufacturer. It was, however, skilfully managed, and admirably contrived for success. The Catholic Belgians were discountenanced in every way. They were discouraged in every trade and branch of industry; the Protestants, especially Dutch Protestants, preferred to them. They were excluded from all the high ranks, almost without exception in the army; from all the high stations almost without exception in the revenue and judicial departments. They were admitted only in small numbers and with much difficulty into the lower ranks, grades, and stations from which they could not well be excluded. They were reduced to something like the state of serfs in their native land. Practically, they were a slave class, having a master class ruling them. Even in the legislature, Holland, with one-half the population of Belgium, had as many representatives as Belgium—a most iniquitous, although, my gentle lord, a mitigated copy of what you advocate elsewhere!

The attack on the Catholic religion and Catholic Church was still more insidious, more artful, and of course, more criminal. The plan was first to leave the several dioceses without bishops, and in the absence of the pastors to corrupt and defile the immediate guardians of the flocks. Accordingly, as the sees became vacant, the king prevented their being filled. In the beginning this was done under the pretext that there should first be a regular *Concordat*, or compact between the Pope and the state. The king demanded from the Pope a *Veto* upon the nomination of the bishops, that is, in other words, a circuitous power of appointment; for he who has an unrestricted veto has really the selection of the bishop. The inconvenience was manifest; yet as see after see became vacant, the Pope, at length, fearing that the Belgian prelacy would be totally exhausted—there were, as I recollect, all the dioceses vacant except one—did in an unhappy hour concede the *Veto* of the king; a concession which, I trust, neither the present

nor any other Pope will ever again make to any other monarch, potentate, or state—Catholic or Protestant.

The king now expected to be able to fill the vacant episcopacies with pliant slaves in holy orders. But to the immortal glory of the Catholic priesthood of Belgium not one corrupt priest could there be found to enter into the king's views or to promote his sacrilegious purposes. The consequence was, that although the king had the power of appointment thus in his hands, not one single bishop was consecrated, and there remained but one bishop in the entire Belgian territory at the epoch of the liberation of that nation.

The project for the ruin of the parochial clergy was still more crafty, subtle, and disgusting. Education was interfered with at its source. The diocesan seminaries should not exist. The succession of pastors was to be interrupted. I may include all in one sentence—no priest should be ordained to serve in the Belgian Church unless he should first spend three or four years in the Philosophie College of Louvain! The young man was thus to be taken from the protection, care, and guidance of experienced instructors of known piety and learning; he was to be taken from the precept-speaking-by-example of his pious sacerdotal superiors; he was to be taken just at the period when nature, in the freshness of youth, is most subject to every bad passion, and is most strongly tempted to every vice. At that period the youth was to be taken from his spiritual fathers, teachers, friends! He was to be exposed to the loose discipline, the lax habits, the sneering infidelity of worthless companions, and more powerfully corrupting instructors. He was to prepare for the awful duties and painful restraints of the priesthood, by just that kind of course which would be best calculated to render him totally unfit for that high and holy office.

The Belgians—blessed be Heaven!—have flung off the incubus of tyranny and bigotry. The people possess their natural rights; the representatives are chosen by most extensive suffrage. The native country of the Belgians is possessed and governed by the Belgians themselves.

Well-regulated freedom affords protection to all—partiality to none. Education is free, the Press is free, conscience is free. The churches are filled with pious pastors of the people. The dioceses boast of their dignified and sanctioned prelacy. The diocesan seminaries flourish. The Jesuits—the exemplary and admirable Jesuits—extend the blessings of education in all arts and sciences to the wealthier classes; whilst the Brothers of the Christian Doctrine spread useful and, above all, pious knowledge amongst the humbler and lower classes. The sainted sisterhoods of nuns distribute similar blessings amongst the females of every rank and station.

Conscience, my lord, is free. In Belgium no legal preference, no legal exclusion affects the full freedom of man's conscience. In that eminently Catholic country there exists no coercion or control by the law or the constitution over the perfect freedom of worship. In that eminently Catholic country the pure democratic principle of representation is successfully worked out to almost its fullest extent. How I rejoiced when the virtuous De Thieux proposed in the Belgian House of Representatives a grant to build a church for the Protestants of Brussels. The motion for the grant was carried in that Catholic assembly by a large majority—a majority of nearly two to one. There were four Catholic priests in the division; and if one voted against it, three voted for it, and made part of the majority in its favour.

How little does the narrow-minded bigotry of English Protestantism and infidelity understand these things! Do you also forget that the punishment of death had been for so many years abolished in Catholic Belgium? The experiment has perfectly succeeded, and humanity is freed from one of the greatest of horrors.

But you, my lord—you are so horror-struck at popular liberty that you actually question whether the Belgian revolution has done more of good or of evil! Why, it was you who some time ago deemed it but small risk to peril "blood and blows"—ay, "brains and blood," in a quarrel in which your personal

privileges were involved!—the Emancipation struggle; and yet you shrink from the results of that goodly, glorious change, which gave cheering, national independence in the room of heartless foreign subjugation, which gave the rule of law in place of the arbitrary will of the oppressor, and substituted for the unconcealed conspiracy to extinguish Catholicity, the benevolent reign of freedom of conscience, and the consequent triumphant security of the Catholic religion and Catholic Church.

In your capacity of a Tory you may embrace despotism in all its forms, and rest all your hopes of the security of rights and the safety of your creed upon the “joy and generosity” of dominant minions of absolute power.

For my humble part, I will, notwithstanding your authority, continue to believe that the real security to human rights is to be found in the expansion of popular liberty, and that the best temporal safeguard of religion is to be met with among men devoted to the amelioration of political institutions, and the redress of all popular grievances.

It is true that your antipathy to Liberal opinions in political affairs is especially animated with regard to the Repeal of the Union. The Repeal is, in your judgment, the great evil—the giant mischief of Liberality. Is it credible that you have the vanity to believe that the Irish people could be swayed by your lucubrations, put into the shape of a pamphlet, to abandon or postpone the agitation of that measure? If that vanity be yours it will be totally disappointed. You may as well assail a citadel with a pop-gun, as think of staying the course of the Repeal struggle by your small logio! Learn from me that the Repeal is a struggle already canonized in the hearts of the Irish people, and that its attainment is a pure question of time. Casual circumstances may retard it; unexpected events may accelerate it; but there is no other hope for Ireland, and even if there were, the Repeal is so much preferable to any other relief that its advent is inevitable.

As for myself, I have no apology to make; I offer no excuse, I require no vindication for my agitation of the Repeal. On

the contrary, the pride and boast of my life now is, that I have devoted all my energies, and consecrated all the rest of my existence to the restoration of the Irish Parliament. That this is my solemn and sacred duty I am thoroughly persuaded. My conviction is deliberate and fixed upon these points—

Firstly—That Ireland has a clear, indefeasible right to a Parliament of her own; the Union being in constitutional principle a nullity; there having been no competent authority to annihilate the constitution of Ireland.

Secondly—That even if there had been a competent authority to enact the Union, yet the means used for that purpose were so notoriously unjust and profligately iniquitous that the Union for this cause alone would be a nullity.

Thirdly—That even if the Union were not a nullity, from the defect of competence, or from the iniquitous mode of obtaining it, yet there is no real Union at all, nor any thing more than an oppressive mockery of a Union.

Fourthly—That this Union has inflicted injustice, oppression, and misery unparalleled on Ireland; and there is not, and cannot be, any hope for present redress, or future security, save by a restoration of the Irish Parliament.

In England, the first of these topics is totally disregarded—the inherent and essential invalidity of the Union. There is a species of robber-conscience made up on the subject. They have gotten the spoil, and deem it superfluous to inquire how the spoliation was achieved. But the rightful owner is knocking at the door to demand restitution; and that demand will become too loud and too multitudinous to be neglected. You must answer for your title to withhold what is justly and lawfully ours. Yes; it is perfectly clear that there was no authority competent to enact the Union. The right to an Irish Parliament was a right inherent in the inhabitants of that country. It was a common law right, part and parcel of the inheritance of the English people—the right to be taxed only by their own representatives—the right to have the laws by which they are governed made by their own representatives.

The right practically exhibited itself in Ireland almost as soon as it became ostensible in England.

It is true that at first, and for many years, a Parliament was enjoyed by and confined to persons of English descent. The Parliament was in its origin confined to the English pale, and it expanded or shrunk in its dimensions as the English power extended or was contracted. But the Irish who became subjects participated in the right, showing that it was an essential portion of English freedom—inherent in the natural frame of English policy. At length, in the reign of James I., the English power extended all over Ireland. The remnants of the Irish nation were admitted to the fellowship of allegiance, duties, and franchise; the royal prerogative also expanded, and was employed more abundantly than wisely. All Ireland thus had her rightful Parliament, and continued to have it from 1612 to the year 1800.

The Irish Parliament was thus founded on constitutional principles, sanctioned by long usage, and sustained by analogy to the English form of government. It was also fortified by the experience of the colonies and dependencies of England. Wherever Englishmen or Irishmen, or both settled, they carried with them the right of representation. The thirteen States of North America, while they were provinces of England, had each its local Parliament. The English subjects in Canada enjoyed and enjoy the same privilege; so in Nova Scotia; so in Jamaica—I need not multiply instances.

A local parliament is the inherent and ineffaceable right of subjects of the Crown of England, wherever they are located in sufficient numbers as to exercise that right. Ireland had not enjoyed this right for centuries. She had as valid a title to a Parliament as England had—perhaps a better; because Ireland having been left to her own protection during the American war, raised a volunteer army, upwards of 80,000 strong, horse, foot, and militia, levied, clothed, and disciplined, without the expense of one shilling of the public money. She set the foreign enemy at defiance.

Ireland might then, without difficulty, have separated from England, and established, after the example of America, a Government altogether national. But Ireland chose, as she still desires, to preserve the connection with England. Ireland, however, insisted that the conditions of her future connection should be defined. Her just demands were acceded to. Her legislative independence was formally recognised, and was established "for ever." Her judicial independence was formally recognised and established "for ever." Ireland had been thus recognised by England, who declared perpetual her exclusive right of making her own laws, of interpreting her own laws, of administering her own laws; she had the exclusive dominion over her own taxation, debt, and revenue. In short, the result was a recognition in practical effect of all these rights which she was entitled to, and which she had, notwithstanding some interruptions and English usurpations, enjoyed for centuries.

There never yet was a more deliberate and solemn national compact. It was declared on all sides to be a "final adjustment." That was the appropriate description of this compact, given to it in the King's speech to the English Parliament—in the Lord Lieutenant's speech to the Irish Parliament—in the responding address of the British Lords, and also of the British Commons—in the responding address of the Irish Lords, and also of the Irish Commons.

But the greatest validity of this compact was its being formed on the clearest inherent right and on the most unquestionable constitutional principle. By its ratification England preserved the brightest, the emerald gem of the British crown; and Ireland fondly believed that she had secured for ever her legislative independence. Such was the "final adjustment" of 1782. Ireland, with her proverbial fidelity, performed her part. England, with her proverbial treachery, violated the "final adjustment," as soon as she found, or rather made, an opportunity for its violation.

That violation has not, and cannot have taken away the right. Fraud or force, or both together, can never take away

the right of any property ; still less can they destroy the unalterable, indefeasible right to self-government. Such is the actual right of Ireland to self-government ; suspended in its operation for the present, but existing in truth, reason, justice, and constitutional principle as fully and as powerfully as if no invasion had been made in its practical working.

First, there is the clear principle, that the right of the people of Ireland to self-government could not be extinguished. Secondly, the Irish Parliament was totally incompetent to enact the Union. Consider the nature and purpose of its formation. In its nature it emanated from, and was subordinate to the constitution ; in its nature it was strictly confined within the limits of the constitution. Its purposes were, within those limits, to do right and justice to all men.

On the other hand, it was not instituted to destroy the constitution or any other part thereof. It could not abolish the kingly office nor the peerage, nor annihilate the House of Commons.

Let it be recollected that I am now speaking of the rightful authority to do these things, not of the power to do them. Any branch of the legislature may in bad times and by bad means acquire the power of abolition and of annihilation of the rest. But that power does not—cannot—change the right. The Long Parliament abolished the kingly office, and took off the head of the king. They did the one by a formal statute, the other by a recorded judicial proceeding. But no man hesitates to declare that both the one and the other were outrages and crimes, and not a binding law nor an authorised judgment. The statute was admitted to be of no rightful force or effect, and, accordingly, when by the change of time Charles II. was able to return to England, he assumed the throne at once. It entered into no man's thought that it was necessary to repeal the Abolition-of-Royalty statute, or to make any law of restoration. The kingly office was at once in full life, and was judicially as well as universally admitted to have been, in point of right and justice, and of constitutional principle, existing all the time of the king's

absence ; and historians, statesmen, and lawyers all reckon the years of the king's forced inaction as years of his actual reign.

So with respect to the peerage ; the same Parliament abolished the House of Lords. It was an abolition by power and not of right. And accordingly the House of Lords revived with the restored monarchy, without any restoring law, or any person imagining that it was or could be necessary formally to abrogate the abolishing ordinance !

No ; the peerage was judicially, as well as universally, admitted to have been in existence in point of right, of justice, and of constitutional principle, all the time of its apparent annihilation.

So with respect to the House of Commons itself ; that was also abolished, and a clumsy " instrument of Government " substituted in its stead. But it was an abolition by power and not by right, and accordingly the functions of the Commons revived with the privileges of the peerage, and with the authority of the monarch, without any restoring law, or any person imagining that it was or could be necessary to abrogate the " instrument of Government." No ; the right to elect a House of Commons was judicially as well as universally admitted to have been, in point of right, of justice, and of constitutional principle, existing all the time in its apparent annihilation.

Thus the Irish constitution still lives. The prerogatives attached to her Majesty's imperial crown of Ireland still exist. And the just right of the Irish people, in point of justice and of constitutional principle, to representation in the Irish House of Commons, subsists in full and undiminished rightful capacity.

The prerogatives of the Irish crown have been shorn of some of their beams by the Union. Yet they are capable of expanding again, and of reviving and restoring into pristine vigour and practical operation the entire constitution of Ireland.

This ground of want of competence in the Parliament to enact the Union was taken at the time the measure was in agitation. It was taken at several meetings, and embodied in published resolutions and petitions to both Houses. It was

asserted in Parliament, and had, in and out of Parliament, the sanction of the highest names in the profession of the law, the highest amongst whom was Plunket.

Here are his solemn words, in a speech in the House of Commons, against the Union :—

“I, in the most express terms, deny the competence of Parliament to do this Act. I warn you, do not dare to lay your hands upon the constitution. I tell you that if, circumstanced as you are, you pass this Act it will be a nullity, and no man in Ireland will be bound to obey it. I make this assertion deliberately, and call on any man who hears me to take down my words. You have not been elected for this purpose. You have been appointed to make laws, not legislatures. You are appointed to act under the constitution, not to destroy it. You are appointed to exercise the functions of legislators, not to transfer them; and, if you do so, your Act is a dissolution to the Government, and no man in the land is bound to obey you.”

Again, in another passage, he addressed the House thus :—

“Yourself you may extinguish, but the Parliament you cannot extinguish. It is enthroned in the hearts of the people—it is established in the sanctuary of the constitution—it is immortal as the island it protects! As well might the frantic maniac hope that the act which destroys his miserable body should extinguish his eternal soul. Do not dare to lay your hands upon the constitution—it is above your power!”

Such was the solemnly-delivered and recorded judgment of Plunket. Is his authority to be disputed? It cannot be because of any censure he incurred or any punishment he suffered for the promulgation of his opinions. Quite the reverse. He attained and enjoyed the highest station and honours in his profession. He was made Master of the Rolls in England. He was made Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in Ireland. He was made a British peer. He finally filled the office of Lord Chancellor of Ireland for more than ten years. Can his authority be disputed?

Plunket was a Whig. The next is a high Orange-Tory authority—it is that of William Saurin.

“You may make the Union,” said he, “binding as a law, but you cannot make it obligatory in conscience. It will be

obeyed so long as England is strong ; but resistance to it will be in the abstract a duty, and the exhibition of that resistance will be a mere question of prudence." The man who proclaimed this doctrine as his solemn, conscientious opinion and advice, was soon after made Attorney-General for Ireland. He continued for more than twenty years in that office, possessing more of the confidence of the English Government—all Tories—than any other Attorney-General that ever held that office. He was the high Orange Attorney-General of Perceval, and Castlereagh, and Peel. He was offered, and he refused, the seat of Lord Chief Justice of Ireland.

Yes. The Union was a nullity. I attest Plunket and Saurin for the doctrine. The immortal soul of the Irish constitution still lives, glorious and perpetual. It is not dead—it only sleeps, to be aroused into active existence once again, "so soon as England ceases to be strong," and Ireland ceases to be weak in her internal dissensions. Until then the Union is to be obeyed as a law, sustained by judicial and military power; but "the abstract duty of resistance" will be unchanged, and the question of prudence left to coming events; with this consolation, that when the hour for the peaceful assertion of existing rights shall arise—and I believe it not to be remote—the prerogatives of our gracious Queen will speedily and satisfactorily restore the constitution of Ireland.

The second position, namely, "That even had there been an authority competent to enact the Union, yet the mode and means of procuring that enactment were so flagitiously iniquitous, as to render the enactment utterly void and of no rightful effect."

Upon this head I need do little more than quote authorities. Lord Shrewsbury himself admits that, in order to carry the Union, "Ireland was goaded into rebellion by the wily policy of a wicked and ambitious minister; then terrified by the atrocities committed in her subjugation."

But the wily policy of that ambitious minister was still more wicked than Lord Shrewsbury has admitted, for the people were not only, on the one hand, goaded into rebellion, but, on

the other hand, the rebellious proceedings were actually fostered until the organisation was considered sufficiently extended to produce an explosion violent enough to enable the Crown to obtain despotic authority, in order to put it down. The direct evidence of this diabolical fomentation of rebellion is to be found in the fact, that the progress of the military organisation of the Presbyterians of Ulster (the treasonable conspiracy having commenced with them) was perfectly well known to the Government for eleven months prior to the rebellion. It appears by the Report of the House of Lords, that during all that time one of the rebel colonels was a spy in the pay of the Treasury, and that he transmitted to the Castle regular reports of all the meetings' proceedings. The Government could, therefore, at any period during those eleven months, have laid hold on the entire of the rebel staff. And, of course, they would have done so, if they had not had in view the ulterior object, to obtain which, they thought any sacrifice of blood cheap. That object was the Union.

This wily and wicked minister also promoted the most bitter religious dissensions among all classes of the people. But let me use Lord Plunket's words in his charge against that minister: "I accuse him," he said, "of fomenting the embers of a lingering rebellion; of hallooing the Protestant against the Catholic, and the Catholic against the Protestant; of artfully keeping alive domestic dissensions for the purposes of subjugation?"

This was not all. It should be recollected that during the entire time in which the Union was discussed, Martial Law was proclaimed; the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended; there was in Ireland no species of legal protection for property, liberty, or life; the persons of the King's Irish subjects were at the caprice of the King's ministers. The gaols were crammed with victims, unaccused by any species of legal evidence; and the scaffolds were actually reeking with the blood of wretches, untried by any legal tribunal.

All the time the Union was under discussion, courts-martial had unlimited power over life and limb. Bound by no definite

form of charge, and by no fixed rule of evidence, the courts-martial threatened with death those who dared to resist the spoliation of their birthright, and awarded execution against whom they pleased.

During that time, the use of torture was familiar. Men, against whom there was no evidence of guilt, were flogged, very many nearly to death, to extort confessions. Some were actually flogged to death, and died under the excruciating torment.

There were upwards of 175,000 British bayonets in Ireland. The officers had recognised power of life and death. The "Ancient Britons" and other private soldiers took that power. Public meetings were called by magistrates and other local authorities, to petition against the Union. They were either prevented from assembling, or were dispersed when they met by military violence. Two prominent and striking instances amongst many may be related:—A meeting of the nobility, gentry, and freeholders of the county Tipperary was duly convened by the high sheriff to meet at Clonmel, in order to petition against the Union. The meeting was attended by noblemen and gentlemen of rank, fortune, and undoubted loyalty; yet, the high sheriff had scarcely taken the chair, when a division of the army marched into the courthouse, drove the sheriff from the chair, and dispersed the meeting. The sacred right of petition was violated by a like military outrage at Maryborough. Although the meeting was convened by the high sheriff of the Queen's County, yet it was dispersed by Colonel Connor, of the North Cork militia, at the head of a party of horse, foot, and artillery.

I am spared all trouble, however, save that of copying the emphatic description of Lord Plunket of the time and manner of carrying the Union. Here are the words of Lord Plunket:—

"I will be bold to say, that licentious and impious France, in all the unrestrained excesses that anarchy and atheism have given birth to, has not committed a more insidious act against her enemy than is now attempted by the professed champion of civilised Europe against Ireland; a friend and ally in the hour of her calamity and distress. At a moment when our country is

filled with British troops ; when the Habeas Corpus Act is suspended ; whilst trials by courts-martial are carried on in different parts of the kingdom ; while the people are made to believe that they have no right to meet and deliberate, and whilst the people are palsied by their fears ; at the moment when we are distracted by internal dissensions, dissensions kept alive as the pretext of our present subjugation and the instrument of our future thralldom ; such is the time when the Union is proposed."

Such was the time and such the manner in which the Union was proposed and carried. Breathes there a man so devoid of all sense of justice as to say, that the Irish could be justly, and as of right, deprived of their native legislature by means such as these? Even Lord Shrewsbury admits—I quote his own words—"that there was too much of fraud and violence to effectuate the Union; there was too wide a departure from the principles on which alone a happy alliance could be founded, ever to allow Ireland to look at other consequences than those which have rendered the Union so abortive and so prolific of evil."

But the direct means of carrying the Union were, if possible, more infamous and iniquitous still. It was the most open, base, and profligate bribery and corruption that ever yet stained the annals of any country.

The late Lord Chief Justice Bushe declared, I use his words, "that the basest corruption and artifice were exerted to promote it; that all the worst passions of the human heart were entered into the service, and all the most depraved ingenuity of the human intellect was tortured to devise new contrivances of fraud."

The leading feature in the Union was the daring profligacy of the bribery and corruption by which it was carried. They were reduced into a regular system. They were avowed in the House ; acted on everywhere. The minister set about purchasing votes. He opened office with full hands. The peerage was part of his stock in trade, and he made some two score of peers in exchange for Union votes. The episcopal bench was brought into the market, and ten or twelve bishoprics were trucked for Union votes. The bench of "justice" became a

commodity, and one chief justice and eight puisne judges and barons ascended the bench, as the price of votes for the Union! It would extend beyond my calculation to make out a list of the generals, admirals, colonels, navy captains, and other naval and military promotions that rewarded personal or kindred votes for the Union.

The revenue departments have long been notorious merchandise of corruption. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Board of Excise and Customs, either conjointly or separately, and the multifarious fiscal offices, especially the legal offices, were filled to suffocation as the rewards of Union votes.

The price of a single vote was formally known. It was £8,000 in money; or a civil or military appointment to the value of £2,000 per annum.

Lord Castlereagh actually declared in the House of Commons that he would carry the Union, though it might cost more than half a million in mere bribes! His words, as reported by Grattan, are these:—"Half a million or more was expended some years since to make an opportunity. The same, or a greater sum, may be necessary now." Such was the open, the unblushing, the impudent effrontery of Lord Castlereagh. Grattan added: "He (Lord Castlereagh) had said so in the most extensive sense of bribery and corruption. The threat was proceeded on: the peerage sold—the caittifs of corruption were everywhere—in the lobby, in the streets, on the steps, and at the doors of every Parliamentary leader: offering titles to some—offices to others—corruption to all."

Lord Castlereagh went to an extent of corruption far beyond the half million for bribes. The Parliamentary papers, published since the Union, show that no less than £1,275,000 was paid as the actual purchase money for close and rotten boroughs. And the best calculation of the actual bribes, over and above the borough purchase, was no less than £1,500,000.

Yet, strange to say, all this direct corruption did not avail. The Union was rejected by the Parliament of 1799; and was carried in that of 1800, chiefly by the introduction into nomi-

nation boroughs of Scotch and English officers, quartered in Ireland, but having no species of connection by birth or property with this country.

Although every possible opposition was given to the petitions of the Irish people, yet it should be recorded to the honour of that people, that no less than 707,000 of them petitioned against the Union; whilst all the artifices and direct bribery of the Government could not procure full 5,000 to petition in its favour.

Let it be remarked, that no one has ever yet had the audacity to say that the Union was a bargain between the two countries. It stands out in its native deformity, the mere creature of fraud, force, bribery, terror, and corruption; utterly incapable in its nature of depriving Ireland of her clear right to her own Parliament.

Having thus shown that there was no authority competent to extinguish the Irish Parliament, and that even had there been such an authority, yet the means of carrying the Union were so flagitious that they could not confer any right upon England, or deprive Ireland of any right, I proceed in my third assertion.

Thirdly, "That even if the Union were not a nullity, from the defect of competence, or from the iniquitous mode of obtaining it, yet there is no real Union at all, nor anything more than an oppressive mockery of a Union."

There is no real Union. If there were there would be no difference between the franchises, and rights, and privileges of the two nations. A real Union would be an amalgamation of both. Both would be combined. They would be one nation—one people; not two nations—two people; the inhabitants of Kent and of Kerry, of Meath and of Hampshire, would be identified, or rather England, and Scotland, and Ireland would be identified. There would be no preference for one and enmity for the other. The inhabitants of one would be on a perfect equality with those of the others. National jealousies and antipathies would be unknown, for their causes would cease to exist. There is no legal distinction between

Englishmen and Irishmen; there would be no legal distinction between Irishmen and Englishmen.

But is this so? Is there such an amalgamation? such an identification of the two nations? No man is absurd enough to allege that there is; it is perfectly plain that there is not. It follows of inevitable, irresistible conclusion, that there is no real Union.

On this point, my lord, your authority is express. You yourself have avowed that the Union made Ireland "the slave of her relentless master (namely England!) and not a handmaid; the servile dependent instead of an honourable partner." You declared, and declared truly, "that the Union was abortive of good and prolific of evil; being only a union of words, not of hearts; of force, not of affection."

If the Union were real, the Irish people would have the enjoyment of the same freedom, in matters pertaining to religion, that the people of England and of Scotland have.

The people of England have this religious freedom; that the entire English people are not compelled to apply the ecclesiastical state revenues of England to the support of the church of a small minority of the English nation. On the contrary, these revenues are appropriated to the sustentation of the Church of the great majority of that nation.

The people of Scotland have their religious freedom; the entire Scotch people are not compelled to apply the ecclesiastical state revenues of Scotland to the support of the Church of a small minority of the English people. On the contrary, these revenues are appropriated to the sustentation of the Church of the overwhelming majority of that nation.

The people of Ireland alone of the three nations do not enjoy this religious freedom. On the contrary, they endure this miserable servitude, embittered by the contrast with the two other countries, that the ecclesiastical state revenues of Ireland are exclusively appropriated to the Church of an exceedingly small minority of the Irish nation.

Thus, in this most important concern, the Union is

a barefaced mockery, and resembles in nothing a real Union.

This is probably the most unendurable inferiority that could be inflicted on any country, under the delusive pretext that there was a Union with the ascendant nation. Look next at another insulting inferiority. England and Scotland have enjoyed an ample measure of municipal reform for several years.

Ireland was contemptuously refused any municipal reform during those years, and finally received a restricted, limited, and vexatious measure of municipal reform.

Is it possible for you to call that a Union? Can anybody be found sufficiently audacious to assert, that a Union is the right name for such a connection between the two countries?

In England every citizen assessed to the poor and borough rate is a burgess, and entitled to vote at all municipal elections, on condition that he pays that one tax. It is immaterial how low an English citizen is rated. He is entitled to his municipal franchise, if rated at all. It is so in Liverpool.

But in Ireland—in Dublin, for example—it is essentially different. No man is entitled in Dublin to the burgess franchise unless he be rated at £10 a year. As the valuation for rating is always much lower than the real value, the Irishman in Dublin must, in fact, occupy a tenement worth near £20 a year to be entitled to be a burgess.

Besides this, there is another essential difference. In Liverpool or Bristol, the resident Englishman is entitled to be a burgess upon paying one tax. In Dublin the Irishman must be, as I have said, rated at £10, and he must pay nine taxes at least, in order to enjoy the franchise.

What is the consequence? Why, that in Dublin there are 22,000 persons rated to the poor rate. If these persons were English, and living at Liverpool, at least 20,000 of them would be entitled to the burgess franchise. Whereas, in Dublin, less than one-third of them, or only 7,000, are so entitled.

Can anybody be so absurd and, I will add, so vicious, as to assert that there is a real Union between the two countries,

when the Englishman in Liverpool has, in point of municipal franchises, three times the advantages which the Irishman has in Dublin; and while the Irishman has but one-third of the advantages which the Englishman possesses in Liverpool?

There is another most important disparagement of the Irish municipal constituency. In Bristol, for example, the municipal burgesses are entitled to elect that officer, so important to the protection of life and property, the high sheriff. In Dublin the burgesses are totally deprived of that advantage.

Is that a Union? Lord Shrewsbury, I ask you this question. Or, if it be a Union, is it not the Union which—to use your own language—subsists between a slave and his relentless master?

Again, my Lord Shrewsbury, if there were a real Union, the people of Ireland would be entitled to as abundant a Parliamentary franchise as the people of England. The electors would be in the same proportion to the general population in Ireland as they are in England. But how is the fact? The fact is, that there are not in Ireland quite as many as two per cent. of the male adult population in the agricultural counties possessing the elective franchise; whereas in England from 25 to 30 per cent. of the same class have the franchise.

Do you call this a real Union?

In the county of Hereford the population is 95,977. The voters are only 5,013.

In the county of Galway the population is 381,564. The voters are only 3,061.

Is this a real Union, Lord Shrewsbury; or is it a mockery, having the name, but not the substance of a Union?

Again: the Isle of Wight has 28,731 inhabitants. The voters are 1,167.

In Mayo the inhabitants are 366,328. The voters are only 957!

Is this a real Union?

Another instance. In Anglesey the population is 33,508. The voters are 4,187.

In Kerry the population is 265,126. The voters are only 1,161!

Is this, too, a real Union?

One instance more. In the county of Cork the agricultural population is now 750,000.

In Wales the entire population is, in round numbers, 800,000.

In Cork county there are but 3,000 voters. In Wales, 36,000!

Can that be called a real Union that gives results of such different magnitude in the enjoyment of the electoral franchise—the most valuable of all?

Nor does the degrading inferiority rest there. For, instead of having the least hope of obtaining an extension of the franchise of Ireland, the direct contrary is decreed. Lord Stanley has determined to cut off probably two-thirds of the existing voters. He had a majority even in the last Parliament. He has a most triumphant majority in the present. And that faction which now enables him to trample at his discretion upon the rights of Irishmen is hounded on by Sir John Gerard and the redoubtable Earl of Shrewsbury.

There is another equally, if not more, potential proof of the deceptive nature of the Union. It consists in the most afflicting deprivation of Ireland of her rightful portion of representatives in the House of Commons.

Ireland has but 105 members out of 658. She ought to have at least 170.

By the calculations made by Lord Castlereagh himself, at the time of the Union, Ireland was entitled to 108 members. The scale that he calculated upon was as follows: he stated that Ireland was entitled,

				Members.
For comparative population, to	..	..	..	202
" Exports	..	..	..	100
" Imports	..	..	..	93
Revenue	..	..	..	39
Total	..	..	..	434

The mean of these quantities gave 108 and a fraction. And thus, on Lord Castlereagh's own showing, Ireland should have had 108 members. He struck off eight in the insolence of despotic power.

This calculation was corrected soon after by Mr. Newenham, who proved that, upon Lord Castlereagh's own showing, the scale ought to have been as follows:—

				Members.
For comparative population	..	..	..	228
„ Exports	..	..	..	179
„ Imports	..	..	..	168
„ Revenue	..	..	..	85
„ Rental	..	..	..	186
Total				846

The mean of these five quantities is 169 and a fraction.

To simplify, however, the claim of Ireland, or rather the evidence of her right to an increased representation, I will place it upon the joint basis of comparative population and comparative revenue only. Taking two periods, the one of 1821, and the other of 1831, I begin with that of 1821.

The population return of 1821 gives to England twelve millions, and to Ireland seven millions of inhabitants, taken in round numbers for the sake of clearness.

For the same purpose I take the representation of England at 500 only.

There is a Parliamentary paper which shows the comparative revenue of England and Ireland in the year 1821, by which it appears that Ireland paid in that year more than one-eighth of the entire revenue. Taking it then upon these grounds, the right of Ireland would be—

				Members.
For population 5 to 12 upon 500, gives	..	..	..	291
For revenue, one-eighth gives	..	..	..	62
Total				353

The one-half, or mean, of those two numbers gives Ireland the right to 176 members.

I now come to the year 1831. The population returns of that year gives England, in round numbers, a population of thirteen millions and Ireland of eight millions.

The following is a correct abstract of the revenue produced by both countries in that year—

Revenue credited to Great Britain ..	£48,325,215	
Deduct teas consumed in Ireland ..	500,000	
Deduct for all other customable articles consumed in Ireland ..	1,000,000	
	<hr/>	1,500,000
Real revenue of Great Britain ..		46,825,215
		<hr/>
Revenue credited to Ireland ..		4,560,897
Add the above		1,500,000
		<hr/>
Actual Irish revenue ..		£6,060,897

Now, to avoid all cavil whatsoever, I will take the Irish revenue as only one-tenth of the English; and even at this most disadvantageous mode of making the calculation, the right of Ireland to increased representation did, at the time of the Reform Act, stand thus—

			Members.
Ireland for population, 8 to 13 on 500, gives ..	..	..	307
Revenue, 1 to 10 on 500, gives ..	..	..	50
			<hr/>
Total .. ..	..	..	357

The mean of these two being one-half, entitled Ireland to 178 members.

I recapitulate thus:—

First—That, according to the detested Castlereagh himself, Ireland ought to have 108 members from the time of the Union Statute. The Reform Act has given us only 105.

Secondly—According to Castlereagh's calculations, corrected by Newenham, Ireland ought, by the Union Statute, to have 169 members. She has but 105. The consequence is, that

upon Castlereagh's own principle, Ireland is defrauded of 64 members.

Thirdly—Upon the combined bases of population and revenue, taking the return of 1821 for the population, and taking the revenue of Ireland as one-eighth, she ought to have 176 members. She has but 105. Ireland is therefore defrauded of 71 members upon this calculation.

Fourthly—Taking the population return of 1831, immediately before the passing of the Reform Act, and estimating the Irish revenue as only one-tenth, yet Ireland, at the passing of that Act, was entitled plainly and demonstratively to 178 members; and the Reform Act therefore defrauded her of 73 members.

Now, if there were a real Union, there ought to be no difficulty in obtaining for Ireland at least, 150 members in the House of Commons of the United Parliament. To give the interests of her people due protection, there ought not to be less. I have proved that, on the result of combined population and revenue, she is entitled to much more. But there is such an absence of reality in the subsisting Union, that it is idle to demonstrate how clear our title is to such an increase of Irish representation.

Call the connection between the two countries what else you please; but I conjure you, in the name of common sense and common honesty, do not venture to call it a Union, unless you add some word expressive of how thorough a mockery it is.

When the Reform Bill was before Parliament, I urged the claim of Ireland for a full representation. I demonstrated her title to it. There was then a fair and ample opportunity of doing us justice, but we were contemptuously refused. And this refusal was aggravated in its insulting nature by the increase that was made in the representation of the English counties.

Every county in England with more than 50,000 inhabitants got an increase of one member.

Every county in England with more than 100,000 inhabitants got an increase of two members. There is but one county

in Ireland with so few as 100,000 inhabitants; yet no Irish county got any increase to the representation.

A few instances will make this contrast more striking.

The population of Worcestershire in 1831, was 211,356. The Reform Bill gave that shire two additional representatives. It has therefore four members.

The population of the county of Galway was then 381,407. It got no addition, and has therefore only two members.

The population of Leicestershire was in 1831, 197,276. It had two members. It got by the Reform Bill two more. It has therefore now four members.

The population of Tipperary was 380,598. It got no addition. It has therefore but two.

Northamptonshire had a population of 279,276. The Reform Bill gave it two additional representatives. It has therefore got four.

The population of the county of Down is 307,571. It got no addition. It has but two members.

The population of Cumberland was 126,681. It got two additional members. It has four.

The rural population of Cork was in 1831, 713,716. Cork got no addition. It has but two members.

Could these things be, if there were a real Union, and not a mocking servitude?

Let it be recollected that the principle upon which the augmentation in the English counties took place, was that merely of population. If there were a real Union, the same principle would be applied to Ireland.

We are laughed to scorn, even by Lord Shrewsbury, when we ask that the same principle should be applied to Ireland as to England. But will you, my lord, after this, presume to say that there is a real Union between the two countries? If you do, your own decision will be retorted upon you, and your assertion will be treated by the Irish nation with contemptuous scorn.

It has been foolishly alleged, by way of reply, that there are in England also, anomalies in the representation; small con-

stituencies returning two members, and large ones that return no greater number. Aye, there are. But they all return the representatives of Englishmen; all connected with, and obedient to English interests. It is a mere question of distribution among themselves. The Irish nominate none of them. Nor are any of them pledged to their constituents in favour of Irish interests. There would be something indeed in the inference drawn from that fact, if our complaint was against the distribution in Ireland of Irish members. It is not so. We take Ireland against England, and we thus find that England has in every point the insulting superiority; and Ireland, in every respect, a disgracing inferiority.

Denominate this a Union, if you choose; I call it by its proper name, a mockery. I now come to my fourth assertion:—"That the Union, such as it is, has inflicted injustice, oppression, and misery unparalleled in Ireland; and there is not, and cannot be any hope for present redress or future security, save by the restoration of the Irish Parliament."

In 1782, Ireland forced the English Government to recognise her independence. In 1782, Ireland attained self-government. What ensued? Peace and prosperity; the most rapid, the most extraordinary strides in improvement of every kind. Prosperity in every department and in every branch; commerce fostered and increased; agriculture encouraged and enriched; manufactures promoted and extended; party spirit checked and decaying; every class daily increasing in wealth and in comfort; the labourer becoming a farmer; the farmer rising into the rank of gentleman; the gentleman falling into the rank of baronet; the baronet elevated to the peerage; commercial men acquiring estates; towns growing into cities; population accumulating; and cheerful merriment, so congenial to the Irish disposition, gladdening the land at every side.

No country on the face of the earth ever made so rapid a progress in improvement of every kind as Ireland did in the fourteen years which succeeded her legislative independence, and that in spite of the odious incubus of the tithe system.

I am not speaking of imaginary things. I am not indulging the visions of fancy. I assert only that which every human being knows to be literally true, and which no man can have the hardihood to deny, namely, that the uprise of Ireland in all the arts, comforts, and blessings of commerce, agriculture, and civilisation, for the fourteen years ensuing her legislative independence, and produced by that measure, has never been equalled in any other country, in any age or period of time.

The bankers of the city of Dublin met on the 18th of December, 1798, and entered into these resolutions against the then threatened Union:—

“RESOLVED—That since the renunciation of the power of Great Britain, in the year 1782, to legislate for Ireland, the commerce and prosperity of this kingdom have eminently increased.

“RESOLVED—That we attribute these blessings, under Providence, to the wisdom of the Irish Parliament.”

The guild of merchants of Dublin met on the 14th of January, 1799, and entered into the following resolution:—

“RESOLVED—That the commerce of Ireland has increased, and her manufactures improved beyond example, since the independence of this kingdom was restored by the exertions of our countrymen in 1782.”

A thousand more such documents might be easily procured.

There is another fact equally unquestionable; that the Union has not conferred any one benefit on Ireland.

In the words of Lord Shrewsbury, “it has been abortive of good and prolific of evil.” It gave up our national independence. It handed over our inherent right of self-government. It stultified ourselves, and proclaimed our incapacity. It degraded and provincialized our country. It gave her up to the stranger and the unfriendly. It was treason against our native land. What value—what consideration have we received in return? None—none—none! “The wages of sin is death.” Such are the wages of the Union. The sin was the crime of others—ours was the punishment!

This one truth, I repeat, is indisputable—that the Union has not conferred upon Ireland any one advantage.

Having brought the minds of my readers to this one indisputable truth, I now call on them to turn their attention to the fatal consequences of the Union. If that measure has been unproductive of good, it has, alas! been most fruitful in evil. Its mischiefs, its miseries, have been multitudinous.

I place some of them before you in the following order :

Firstly—It deprived Ireland of self-government. It reduced her into the state of a province from being an independent nation.

No man can undervalue self-government, but a man of low and grovelling mind ; some person who imagines that Englishmen, or Scotchmen, or perhaps Frenchmen, are of a higher order of beings than the Irish. If an Irishman be equally fit to govern, to make laws, and to execute them, as the native of any other country, why should we give to others the power of making laws for us, or of executing them ? Is it not evident that no persons can have so great an interest in there being good laws in Ireland as the inhabitants of Ireland ? Having, then, the most deep interest in there being good laws in Ireland ; having our properties, our lives, our comforts, our liberties, all at stake in the good government of our country ; must we not be the most fit persons to take care of those properties by wise laws ; to protect our lives by just institutions ; to attend to the promotion of our comforts by salutary regulations, and to establish our liberties by sound legislation ? Who else can have the deep, the entire, the perpetual interest we have in these things ? If this be so—as it certainly is so—is it not the height of wicked absurdity in us to devolve upon strangers the care of these most important concerns, and to deprive ourselves of the natural control and superintendence over our own affairs ?

This government and management we were deprived of by the Union ; they can be restored to us only by the abrogation of that measure.

It is true—familiarily true, even to the triteness of a proverb—that he who entrusts his business to others is sure to have it neglected; that no man's business is well done but the business of a man who superintends it himself.

What is true of each individual is equally true of the aggregate of individuals called a nation. Each nation has a sacred duty imposed on it, to attend to its own affairs; that duty is also a sacred right, which in our case has been most treacherously as well as basely violated.

This, as I have said, is manifestly an evil inherent in the Union, and for which there can, of course, be no remedy but in the repeal of that measure.

The second great evil of the union is the financial robbery of Ireland which has been effected by means of that measure.

At the time of the Union, Ireland owed something under twenty millions. England then owed more than 446 millions. That is to say, England owed a debt 23 times and a quarter larger than the debt of Ireland. If the Union had been a just and reasonable compact, the future debt and consequent taxation of both countries should have remained in the same proportion. Ireland was entitled to have the same protection from debt and taxation in the united Parliament, that she had obtained from her own legislature.

It is so manifestly fair and just that these proportions should be preserved, that if the rule were to be applied to a private partnership, every person would say it was that which common sense and common honesty required. If the estate of A. were burdened with a debt of £20,000, and the estate of B, C, and D, burdened with a debt of £446,000, A. would be quite mad, if, for the mere sake of forming a partnership, he were to give B, C, and D the power to charge his estate with a greater proportion of future debts than that which it bore to the existing debts at the time of the commencement of the firm. He certainly would not do so except in recompense for his getting a greater share of the profits of the concern. Such, however,

was not the case with Ireland. All the profits have gone to her partners, and she is left to abide by the loss.

It is manifest that, upon a fair bargain, the debt of each country would have remained at the same proportion. The debt of England has about doubled since the Union; the debt of Ireland ought not to have more than doubled also.

In that case—the fair and just case—Ireland would at this moment owe at the utmost forty millions; a sum which she could easily pay off within ten years; contributing her full proportion to the burdens of the state, she might easily be the least taxed country in the world. What is her present state now by means of the Union? Why, she is chargeable as a portion of the United Kingdom with the entire of upwards of £800,000,000 due by England. There can be no sensible diminution of taxation in Ireland until the Greek Kalends, that is, until a substantial portion of the English debt, is paid off.

If such an injustice were committed between man and man, everybody would cry out against the robber. But when the robbery comes to be committed against a nation, at the rate of hundreds of millions, then there is nobody to exclaim against the plunderer, and it is expected that the plundered nation will tranquilly endure the spoliation.

I want to know this: what pretext can there possibly be, in point of common sense and common honesty, why Ireland should be chargeable for one shilling of the 446 millions which England owed at the time of the Union? It was voted by the English Parliament—raised by the English Parliament—spent by the English Parliament—Ireland all the time supporting her own establishments, and instead of receiving money from England, remitting money to that country. Again I ask, whether there ever was so flagrant a violation of honesty and justice, as charging Ireland with one single shilling of that debt?

The case of Ireland is still stronger on this point, because there was an absolute undertaking that Ireland should have no concern whatsoever with the debt then due by Great Britain.

It will be convenient that I state with precision what the amount of that debt was.

I have called the British debt at the time of the Union 446 millions. It stood accurately thus:—

Funded debt,	..	..	..	..	£420,305,000
Unfunded debt	..	..	..	..	26,080,000
Total debt, . .					£446,385,000

Annual interest:—

Charge of funded debt,	..	..	..	..	£15,800,000
Charge of unfunded debt,	..	..	..	..	1,021,000
Total charge, .					£16,821,000

This being understood, we now come to the solemn declaration of Lord Castlereagh upon this subject, made on the 5th of February, 1800. His pledge was in these words: in respect of the past expenses, Ireland is to have “no concern whatsoever with the debt of Great Britain.” Again, he said, “Great Britain now paid taxes for interest on her debt, ten millions.” (Observe here, that he should have said she paid in interest £16,821,000.) His inaccuracy however was not material, because he added, “for any proportion of this, she (Britain) could not call upon Ireland.” It was therefore absolutely necessary that the respective debts of the countries should remain distinct.

The misstatement of the amount of the annual charge upon the then existing debt of Great Britain and the annual charge on it, whatever that charge might be, should be borne exclusively by Great Britain, and she should not call upon Ireland for any proportion thereof

This created an obligation upon Great Britain to pay taxes, of which no part should be chargeable in Ireland, to the amount, in round numbers, of seventeen millions per annum.

Has she done so? I have the finance accounts for the year

1839 before me. The following are the items of the separate taxation of Great Britain:—

Land and assessed taxes,	..	..	..	£3,939,000
Bricks,	..	..	..	463,000
Soap,	..	..	..	782,000
Post-horse duty,	..	..	..	224,000
Total,				£5,408,000

In certain stamp duties, and home-made spirit duties, there is a higher rate of taxation in England than in Ireland. Its produce is at present uncertain, but it may be ascertained. Assuming it to add a fourth to the foregoing items, the total is £6,775,000.

Taking for granted that England has given herself a similar relief—say, in round numbers, ten millions annually for the last ten years, there would thus, without going farther back as we might do, be a sum of one hundred millions of which the English have been exonerated by increasing unfairly the burden on the Irish.

One strange instance of the mixture of insult with injustice, in matter of finance, since the Union, is to be found in the fact, that the Committee of the English House of Commons have transferred to the charge of Ireland, the £1,275,000 paid by England for the purchase of nomination boroughs—thus compelling Ireland to pay the wages of her own degradation.

There is one more financial grievance that I shall mention, and then conclude this topic. Since the peace, Great Britain has exonerated herself of annual taxes to the amount of forty millions a year, and exonerated Ireland only to the amount of one million annually. Assuredly I need not follow this subject farther.

Now, Lord Shrewsbury, what remedy can Ireland have, save by the restoration of her own Parliament? How or where else can the question be fairly discussed? How otherwise can Ireland get rid of her liability to 446 millions, of which she does not justly owe one farthing? How otherwise

is she to get rid of her liability to an additional 400 millions or thereabouts, of which she does not owe more than, at the utmost, about one-tenth? You now perceive how deeply seated are the evils of the Union; and how all-powerfully interested are the people of Ireland in procuring its repeal.

The third evil resulting from the Union is one that now no compensation can be given for. It was not the less a monstrous mischief.

It was this: the Union retarded the emancipation of the Irish Catholics for a full quarter of a century. A full generation lived and died in slavery, who would have enjoyed the blessings of equal laws but for the Union.

It is not probable that any reasonable man can doubt the effect which the Union had in retarding the full emancipation of the Catholics of Ireland. If such persons are found, let me ask them to recollect the facts that preceded the Union.

Emancipation commenced in 1778-79. A considerable instalment, especially as related to the enjoyment of property by the Catholics, was obtained in that year.

In 1782, a glorious epoch! another and a large instalment was obtained, creating perfect equality with respect to property in land; and, what was yet more valuable, allowing Catholics to open schools and have their youth instructed in science and literature.

The third instalment was in the latter end of 1792, and opened the profession of the law to Catholics. Another and greater instalment was granted in 1793, which above all other things gave to the Catholics the instrument of full liberation—the elective franchise.

In 1795, another, a complete act of emancipation was carried in the House of Commons, by an overwhelming majority, and would have passed into law but for a change in the English ministry.

Thus, within the space of fifteen years, four different statutes of relief were passed by the Irish Parliament, in favour of the

Catholics. The English Parliament refused to concede the same extent of rights to the English Catholics. The distractions of the year 1798 might be said to retard the progress of Emancipation for a moment, but it could not possibly retard it long. There were in favour of procuring Emancipation, the increasing number of the Catholics; their increasing wealth; the business habits of the Catholics barristers; the great practical influence of the Catholic attorneys; an influence which to my knowledge was used with the noblest disinterestedness, and greatest practical utility, during our struggles for Emancipation. The Catholic attorneys received little public honour, and less emolument. But they were eminently useful in bridling the oppressor, vindicating the oppressed, and creating the general co-operation of all classes.

In the first struggles for Emancipation, the Catholics were obliged to hire Protestant secretaries and managers. They had now men of their own—accustomed to appear before the public, and capable, as well as ready, to distinguish themselves in the public cause.

With all these advantages, and with this still greater advantage, that the votes of Catholics could influence the return of from one hundred to one hundred and fifty members of the Irish House of Commons, it was utterly impossible that three, or at most, four years after 1800, could have elapsed without their full and complete Emancipation.

But the Union intervened. The Parliamentary influence of the Irish Catholics in the British House of Commons fell to the lowest ebb, and scarcely existed at all. It was scattered and unorganized. We had to go before a foreign and unfriendly Parliament; and even when we thrice obtained a majority in the House of Commons, our bill was as often thrown out in the House of Lords! I will not further refer to the history of our struggles; but, acquainted as I am with their details, I do not hesitate solemnly to declare my conviction—I may almost say my certain knowledge—that the Union retarded Emancipation for upwards of twenty-five years.

In fact, no man can deny this—that the Catholics of Ireland were driven to the necessity of making so formidable (though legal) a combination as to induce, even in England, a constitutional necessity on the part of most unwilling statesmen to yield Emancipation. What a small portion of the same constitutional force would have sufficed to obtain the Emancipation Act from the Irish Parliament!

The fourth evil resulting from the Union is one of a purely practical nature. It relates to the employment of Irishmen in the various departments of the State and collection of the revenue.

Before the Union the taxes were raised and collected, and they were also principally expended by Irishmen. All the offices in the law, as well as in the revenue, were filled by Irishmen. The boards of excise and customs were Irish. The stamp departments were filled by none but Irish. The post-office knew no employés but Irish. The influence of the Irish Government was considerable in the army. It was partially felt to an important extent in the navy. There was then no transfer to England of duties which ought to be performed in Ireland. In short, the entire of what one may call the staff of Government was essentially and almost universally Irish. If the Union had not taken place this must have continued, and when there was room for it, it must have augmented.

How is it now? Alas, alas! many of our departments are transferred to England, and all else that can be removed are literally on the wing. If you go into any of the public offices that remain, your ear is shocked with the contented gabble of some stall-fed English invader; or the harsh, though shrewd remark of some Scotch inspector. Here and there you meet an Irishman; but they are "rarinantes," and with difficulty keep themselves afloat amongst ungenial superiors. English barristers have actually been converted into attorneys, in order to exclude Irish solicitors from the revenue department. We have had five English Chancellors since the Union, and (with the exception of a few months) we have had in fact but one Irish

Chancellor ; and I believe it is not intended that we should ever have another. It has been publicly asserted that the Irish bench was to be opened to the English bar ; and it is not likely that even the assistant-barristerships will be long the exclusive possession of those who may be designated, however inaccurately, as "mere Irish."

It is quite clear that nothing but the Repeal of the Union can remedy this grievance ; but that would effectually do it. The Scotch cry of "our ain fish-guts for ain sea-mews" may be the exaggeration of nationality ; but it is no exaggeration to wish and to insist that the salaries paid by the Irish people should be reserved for and received by Irishmen alone.

The fifth evil resulting from the Union is one I have already alluded to, and which I may therefore pass over with a single remark. It is the utter inadequacy of the Irish representation in Parliament.

We have less than one-sixth of the representation ; 105 out of 658 members. Accordingly, whenever English interests or English prejudices clash with Irish rights it would be as well that Ireland had no representatives at all. The present posture of public affairs elucidates this assertion. The English antipathy to Ireland ; the English hostility to the religion of the people of Ireland, united with the congenial elements of monopoly and corruption, have produced a Parliament so inimical to Ireland that we are completely at the mercy of the British Cabinet. They can now dictate to a willing Parliament their own terms of Irish servitude. Would it not be better that we had not one single Irish member in the House than to have us there to be dragged at the chariot wheels of our bitter enemies ? Oh ! for the self-government which the Repeal would ensure !

The sixth evil resulting from the Union I have already alluded to. It is the miserably and insultingly restricted and limited state of the Parliamentary franchise in Ireland.

The statistics upon this subject I have already sketched. They give results of the most painful nature to the feelings and judgment of every Irishman.

The seventh evil resulting from the Union I have already detailed. It is the miserably and insultingly restricted and limited state of the municipal Reform Bill for Ireland.

I have also specified at some length the iniquitous defects of that Bill.

Why then do I introduce a second time the restricted franchise and the restricted municipal reform? For two reasons.

The first is, that they are evils natural by arising from the Union.

The second is, that it has been asserted that, limited as they are, they still are better than the former system, and therefore are boons conferred on us by the United Parliament. I feel it is my duty to demonstrate the fallacy of that assertion.

The assertion of their being boons conferred on us by the United Parliament is a mere begging of the question. It takes for granted that the Irish Parliament would not have conceded these, or a greater extent of reform.

Now, it is perfectly capable of demonstration that this supposition is totally unfounded in fact. Why? For two reasons—firstly, because the Irish Parliament before the Union had more frequently taken a liberal part than did the British Parliament before that measure; secondly, because this decisive proof was given by the Irish members in the United Parliament of their superior attachment to the principles of Reform. It was this—that when the Reform Bill was introduced by Lord Grey's Government into Parliament, there was a majority of English members against the Bill—there was a majority of Scotch members against the Bill; but the majority of Irish members in its favour outnumbered both the English and Scotch majorities against it, and secured the second reading of the Bill.

The superior liberality of the Irish members is thus established. It cannot be questioned that, as they did so much for England and for Scotland, they would have done more for Ireland. The truth really is that, instead of the Union procuring reform for England and Scotland, on the other hand, the English

and Scotch Reformers showed their usual unaltered injustice to the Irish. They took to their aid the Tories in the House, and, with an ingratitude unexampled, save in the dealings of the English to the Irish, they flung to Ireland mutilated, restricted, and fettered reforms!

Is there any remedy short of the Repeal of the Union? Surely, if there ever was a hope of justice for Ireland from the Imperial Parliament, that man must be mad who entertains such a hope at present.

The eighth and greatest infliction of the Union is the continuance of the ecclesiastical state revenues in the hands of the clergy of a small minority of the Irish people.

"The hatred of the Irish people to tithes is as immortal as their love of justice!" If the Union had not intervened, Catholic Emancipation would have been, without doubt or difficulty, and immediately, followed by a definite appropriation of the tithes. Vested interests would have been respected, but the reversion would have been applied to purposes of education and charity. Long and long since, the name and nature of tithes would have been effaced in Ireland. We owe to the Union their continuance. We shall owe to the Repeal their annihilation.

The ninth infliction of the Union is scarcely of less magnitude. It is this—the enormous and accumulating increase of absenteeism.

Absenteeism has always been the bane of Ireland. It has at every period of her connection with England retarded her prosperity, as the natural result of the system of English misrule.

The surface of Ireland has, with very few exceptions, been confiscated three times over; and many districts much oftener. The distribution of the plunder was generally—indeed, almost universally—made to strangers resident in England.

The Irish Parliament endeavoured to diminish the mischief; and the English monarchs occasionally, with the assistance of that Parliament, resumed their grants. By the statute 28th Henry VIII., your ancestor, my lord, was thus deprived, by

reason of his criminal neglect of Ireland, of a large estate in the county of Wexford. Yet the great evil continued, and received no mitigation, save for the short period of the prevalence of the spirit of 1782, when, for the first time, it received a check.

The Union, however, restored it to its pristine vigour, and daily decreased its enormity. In 1801, the calculation of absentee rents, and pensions payable by Ireland and spent in other countries, amounted to £1,500,000 annually. There is now no doubt that the absentee rents and surplus Irish revenue transmitted to England amount at present to more than six millions per annum, and have done so for more than the last ten years.

Here are for ten years no less than sixty millions raised in Ireland, and every shilling of it transmitted out of Ireland, and spent in foreign lands. In the history of mankind there is no instance of such a withering exhaustion of any country; of such a tribute paid by one country to another.

When you contemplate this fact, are you—can you be surprised at the misery and destitution of Ireland?

There is this bitter aggravation of the mischief—that it is daily augmenting! The tide of absenteeism has set in strongly. There were, first, the natural absentees, as I may call them, who have also estates in England. Next, the Irish peers and commoners. Next, all those—and they are many—who are affected by their example. But why need I enter into details? All the objects of ambition or self-interest, draw crowds to the seat of government. The result is, that scarcely any man of property remains, unless he has some individual tie or obligation on him to remain.

There is this other bitter aggravation of the evils of absenteeism—that it leaves the Irish estates in the hands of, generally speaking, heartless agents—but who at all events have no personal interest beyond the collection of each year's rent; and who therefore have no selfish inducement to look to the permanent prosperity or even the future existence of the tenantry.

Have you heard of the clearance system? of the extermination system? of the multitudinous murders committed on ejected tenants, not by the sword or the bayonet, but by the more tedious but equally criminal process of cold, famine, and disease?—of the hideous assassinations, retaliated in the spirit of the wildest justice of revenge; but not to be excused or palliated for any reason, or on any provocation.

Details are needless. The inevitable effects of an absentee drain of six millions annually, must present themselves to every rational mind. If these six millions were spent in Ireland —

But why should I harrow my soul with the ideal contrast? It is enough to say that Ireland is subject to a tribute—an annual tribute—of six millions!

No country could continue this process of exhaustion; it must come to an end!

There is but one remedy—the restoration of the Irish Parliament!

The tenth evil is that the Union has destroyed the trade and manufactures of Ireland, and filled the land with sorrow, misery, and destitution.

Let me give a few of the many instances of Irish depression consequent upon the Union.

The Irish linen trade flourished before the Union, under the paternal care of a national legislature. The exports of Irish linen amounted in value to more than three millions of pounds sterling by the year. They experienced after the Union a reduction of four-fifths. I believe that they had fallen lower still. Legislative causes could be adduced for the decline—causes which the Irish Parliament would have obviated.

One word only on the history of the Irish linen trade. The woollen manufacture was in a flourishing state at the period of the revolution. It was openly and avowedly crushed to create a monopoly of that manufacture for England.

Oh! how beloved those English ought to be by us wild Irish! The linen manufacture was promoted by way of compensation. It flourished until the annual export of the article

reached three millions sterling. Then came the Union, and struck off four-fifths of the trade. Well—we are a patient people—blessed be God!

The linen trade, too, had this great and decided advantage. The only outlay to foreigners was the price of the flaxseed. All the rest of the value of the article was composed of Irish land and Irish labour. It was a manufacture of health and morals. It employed old as well as young—females as well as males. There was no crowding into pestilential manufactories. There was no depravity by reason of improper association. No. The weaver worked at home in the midst of his family. He combined the health and plenty of agricultural pursuits with his labour as an artisan; and cheerfulness, plenty, and comfort blessed the land when the linen trade flourished.

There had risen since, in the revolutions of trade, a considerable manufacture of linen yarn: but its date has not been long, nor is it likely to be so. Its very existence is threatened by the new tariff of French duties against which it would require the protection of reciprocity of duties which an Irish Parliament alone could give it. At present, it is probable it will be sacrificed to the interests of the outlers of Sheffield.

But it is not only in the manufactures of the working classes; it is equally in the consumption of luxuries that the withering hand of the Union is to be found.

Before the Union, the annual import of claret into Ireland was 400 tuns. It was reduced to thirty tuns annually, when the last separate account of revenue for Ireland was made out about fifteen years ago. It is probable that it does not exceed twenty tuns annually at present. The drinkers of claret have fled to other countries, and left Ireland in poverty. Their incomes are spent elsewhere.

Before the Union, the woollen trade flourished in Ireland in all the articles of coarser texture. It gave employment to thousands in the various towns of Ireland. At Carrick-on-Suir alone it kept in constant work and wages more than 7,000 persons, where there were lately not fifty employed! In short,

since the Union, the woollen trade of Ireland has literally been annihilated.

Before the Union, the refining of sugar was a prosperous and lucrative business, giving work and wages to thousands. There were in the city of Dublin alone, nineteen sugar bakeries; there is not now a single one remaining! This trade is annihilated.

Before the Union, the glass manufacture was flourishing in Ireland: it is now all but annihilated.

Before the Union, the manufacture of tabinets and silks in Dublin gave bread to thousands. It was lately on the verge of extinction, but has revived in some small degree by the Repeal movement.

Before the Union, the business of printing and bookselling—the manufacture of hats—the working in gold and silver plate—watchmaking, and various other branches of trade were in a prosperous state in Ireland, which are now annihilated or in the last stage of an impoverished existence.

But why should I dwell on minor details, when one astounding fact places in the clearest light the increase of poverty, the accumulation of distress, and the fearful extent to which the privation of the comforts of life has been occasioned by the Union.

The fact I allude to is this: before the Union, Ireland imported annually nearly twice the quantity of sugar she imports at present. But as the population of Ireland has doubled since the Union, it is manifest that this falling off amounts, in point of fact, to nearly three-fourths of the entire.

The more this fact is considered, the more distinctly will it appear to prove the increase of poverty and destitution.

There is not one article, the consumption of which tends more to health and comfort than sugar. Every person who can afford to do so, consumes as much sugar as he conveniently can; and that in one thousand different ways. No person abandons the use of sugar but a person who has not the means of buying it. The consumption of sugar increases with wealth;

its diminution is the most decisive proof of poverty. Yet here is Ireland, with a diminution of consumption amounting to three-fourths of the entire quantity consumed before the Union.

Here is a most conclusive and unequivocal proof of the poverty and destitution of Ireland arising from the Union.

I cannot avoid giving some individual specimens of the withering effect of the Union on Irish trade and manufactures in several localities. I take them from reports made, some in the year 1834, and others in the year 1840.

To begin with Dublin: it is ascertained from authentic documents and returns, that in 1800 there were in Dublin ninety-one master manufacturers in the woollen trade, employing 4,938 persons. In August, 1840, there were only twelve master manufacturers; and only 682 persons employed in this trade.

In the city of Cork, in 1800, there were engaged in the manufacture of woollen goods, forty-one employers, giving constant work to 2,500 persons. That trade is now completely gone. The extensive factory of Mr. Lyons—the last in work—is now converted into a bleach green.

In Limerick, at the Union, there were 1,000 woollen weavers. There are not now seventy!

One more instance in the woollen trade. It is the history of the flannel manufacture in a particular locality; and contains in fact an abstract and brief chronicle of the decay of trade almost all over Ireland. The place is Rathdrum, county of Wicklow. The flannel manufacture flourished there to such an extent, that the late Earl Fitzwilliam was induced to erect, at an expense of £3,500, an extensive market-place called the Flannel Hall. This manufacture gave employment to more than 1,000 looms, and to several thousands of operatives in its various branches. In some years after the Union, the manufacture began rapidly to decline.

It is ascertained that the 1,000 looms had in the year 1823 declined to 400; in 1826 to 300; in 1827 to 200; in 1828 to 150; in 1830 to 100 and in 1832 to 30! And in two years

afterwards, there was not a vestige of this formerly important and remunerative branch of industry!

To revert to Dublin. There were at the time of the Union, engaged in the cotton trade, fifty-five master manufacturers, employing 14,500 persons, at wages of 40s. a week. They have fallen to twelve employers and 625 operatives, and the wages are now only 15s. a week.

At the Union, the hosiery business flourished in Dublin, Balbriggan, Cork, Belfast, Lisburn, Clonmel, Limerick, Waterford, Kilkenny, Carlow, Portarlinton, Maryborough, and several other places. But in all those places, the home manufacture is now so inconsiderable, that this branch of Irish industry may, in the words of the report "for all practical purposes be considered as extinct."

To enter into these particulars may appear to weaken the effect of the general failure of trade, but they mark more strongly its effects. It is, however, useful to review the entire manufactures of Ireland; for thus it appears, that at the period of the Union the number of persons directly deriving employment from the woollen, cotton, and silk manufactures in Ireland, exceeded one hundred and fifty thousand in a population of about four millions. At the present day, the entire number employed in these manufactures throughout the kingdom, in a population of eight millions, does not exceed eight thousand.

So much for that Union you have well described as being "abortive of good and prolific of evil."

Before I close my brief sketch of the miseries of which the Union has been so "prolific" to Ireland, let us look into the Poor Inquiry Reports. For the state of the agricultural labourers, I must be content with a few samples. But I will give them in the touching language of the peasantry themselves, taken almost at random from the Reports of the Commissioners of Poor Law Inquiry. The first shall be from the county of Galway. The witnesses speak thus:—

"COUNTY OF GALWAY.—In summer, when unemployed, we live on cabbage and green herbs, with a few potatoes. We live for three days on the quantity of potatoes which we would, if we could afford it, use in one.

"This is the case every summer; there were two hundred families so in this parish last summer. Those who have a plot of early potatoes dig them before they are half grown. Eating these unripe potatoes causes sickness. Many men are put into their graves by this bad food."

I next extract the following evidence on the state of the poor in Mayo:—

"You would see labourers in summer eating boiled cabbage, and a little meal shaken through it, without a potato to eat along with it. Maybe the women spent two days in spinning a pound of flax, and went another day five miles to the market of Ballinasloe to sell it, and had by it the twopence that bought the meal; many a shift they make; all struggling to hold a grip of life.

"In the mountains of the parish of Cong, when the potatoes fail them, they bleed their cattle, and eat the boiled blood, sometimes mixed with meal, but often without it. The same beast has been known to bleed three times in one season."

A witness says—

"He knew a family this last summer (1854) to have during three days but one substantial meal of potatoes."

He says—

"They kept life in them by picking up shell-fish on the strand."

"They fast all the summer."

When the Commissioners questioned what the witness meant by fasting, he said—

"I count it equal to fasting when a man and his wife and four children had to live on a quart of meal or a stone of potatoes for twenty-four hours; and I have known them to live on that."

The next that strikes my eye is a description of the state of the labouring peasantry during the scarce months, as they are called, in the county of Longford—

"They go through the fields and gather the wild weeds; they boil them with salt, and they live on them, without even a potato to eat along with them."

The Rev. Mr. O'Brien knew, this summer (1834)—

"Two families of labourers to remain in bed all day, as they said, 'to stifle the hunger.' They told me that 'several of the neighbours did the same.'"

The next is from the county of Kildare—

"We are often obliged to eat the 'prassagh,' when the blossom is on it—that is, when it is thought most unwholesome. I declare to my God, I know several men who never tasted food for forty-eight hours."

The next is from the county of Meath—

"The only periods in which employment is to be calculated on are, a month in spring, planting potatoes, a month in harvest and a month in autumn digging potatoes; and during other times the labourers are often without one meal of potatoes in the day.

"During the unemployed season there are many who cannot get food for twenty-four hours; and if it was not for an odd bit the Almighty sends from a neighbour, would have died through the mere dint of starvation."

My next instances are from the county of Clare; in answer to whether labourers became old and disabled before other people—

"We are worked harder and worse treated than the slaves in the colonies.

"I understand that they are taken care of by their masters when they are sick or old.

"When we are sick we must die on the road, if the neighbours do not help us.

"When we are old we must go out to beg, if the young ones cannot help us; and that will soon happen with us all. We are getting worse and worse every day, and the landlords are kicking us out of every little holding we have. This last May twenty-eight families were put out, and next May I am sure there will be as many again within five miles of Kilkea. If something is not done for those who are turned out upon the world, without a rag upon their backs, God knows what will happen this country.

"When we suffer all these hardships, is it wonderful our spirits should be broken down?

"Many is the man who thinks himself well off with one meal a day."

I may add three extracts more from the counties of Cork,

Donegal, and Tipperary, as being the shortest specimens of the state of those counties, but not the less emphatic upon that account. County of Cork—

“Many farmers are driven by distress to work themselves, and make their sons work, who would have formerly employed labourers. Such persons often make their children work, who would otherwise be sent to school.

“The labourers are frequently unable to work for want of sufficient food. It often happens that a labourer has no dinner to go home to.”

My next is from the county of Donegal—

“In June, July, and August, and after the harvest, they are reduced to fewer and scantier meals in the day.”

I give the following from the county of Tipperary—

“There is not much work for the labouring classes from May to August; at this time labourers and even tradesmen can scarcely get one full meal in the day; besides they will often collect cornkail, rape, and nettles, and eat them.”

The state of the people as to clothing is represented throughout the evidence in equally distressing terms. To multiply extracts would be fatiguing—

“Many have no blankets, but make use of the clothes which they wear during the day for night covering.

“Their clothes, or rather rags, are entirely insufficient to protect them from the cold.

“Their children are all in rags,” &c.

I presume, my lord, that these are they who, you tell us, “would live in a happy ignorance of the evils of which you think they too loudly complain, if they were less instructed in their grievances.”

If I had the keeping of your conscience, I would inflict on you, by way of penance and for atonement, the attentive perusal of the Report of the Commissioners of Poor Law Inquiry, signed, amongst others, with the revered name of Most Rev. Dr. Murray, and containing one thousand instances of deep suffering and destitution, of which the scanty extracts above copied contain but a faint specimen.

My lord, I attribute all these evils—the decay of trade, the suppression of manufactures, the poverty and squalid want of the operatives, the destitution of the agricultural labourers—all, all to misrule as their principal and abundant source; the misrule of a foreign and ungenial legislature, ignorant of our wants, and without any sympathy for our sufferings.

It is not possible for you, at least, to deny that the mass of our legislators are totally ignorant of the real afflictions of the Irish people, when you exhibit the strange instance of a man who, in 1828, thoroughly knew and eloquently described the miseries of the wretched Irish; and who yet, in 1841, totally forgot your former knowledge on the subject, declaring that those evils were purely imaginary, and those grievances the mere creations of fanciful description!

What a sage legislator have not the exertions of the Irish Catholics placed in the aristocratic senate!

Tell me not that the Poor Laws afford a remedy. They have been fairly tried in two localities, and they are found to be a total failure.

Besides, they were calculated to relieve only 80,000 persons. How then can they relieve three millions? They have thrown a burden unendurable in our poverty upon all. We are too poor for Poor Laws. The establishment for administering them costs more than the food and clothing given to the destitute. The machinery for relief is more expensive than the relief itself.

The great burden of the poor-rates falls upon the occupying inhabitants, thus creating more destitution than you relieve. In 1830, I, in a letter then published, foretold what was coming on. These were my words: "The landed proprietors of Ireland are reduced to this dilemma; they must either have a Repeal of the Union or Poor Laws. To one or other of these they must come, Poor Laws or a Repeal of the Union. Beyond this alternative there is nothing—the Repeal of the Union or Poor Laws."

Such was my prophetic warning in 1830. The landed

gentry then refused to join me in sufficient numbers to obtain a Repeal of the Union. My prophecy was verified—they have got Poor Laws.

Let me now prophesy again ; and I do so with a mournful conviction upon my mind, that, if the Union be not repealed, the burden of the Poor Laws alone upon the occupiers of land and of houses in towns, will drive the people into a sanguinary and, perhaps, a successful insurrection.

May the great God of heaven forbid that it should occur ! But it will occur, unless good men now calmly and dispassionately join with me to obviate so dreadful an occurrence, by taking away its cause.

Nothing will answer these purposes but a Repeal of the Union.

Let me return. I repeat, that I attribute all the evils of Ireland to the misrule occasioned by the Union ; the annihilation of trade and commerce ; the poverty, the destitution, the misery, the starvation. What else can we attribute them to ? Ireland has a soil fertile to a proverb ; capable of producing abundant sustenance for four times her present population. She has a genial climate, never parched into barrenness by the summer's sun ; never chilled into sterility by the winter's cold. Her perennial greenness shows a perpetual impulse of vegetation. Nature and nature's God have bestowed on her many other good gifts. She is most favourably situated to be the entrepôt of the commerce of the European and American worlds. Situate at the western extremity of Europe, she is the nearest eastern land to the Americas. She is indented with spacious bays and safe harbours, open at every hour of the tide, and secure from every wind that blows. She is intersected with navigable rivers and estuaries, easily bringing her shipping in various directions almost to the centre of the island. Her perennial streams, in the fulness and rapidity of their waters, are capable of turning all the wheels of the machinery of the British empire. Her abundant produce consists of all the prime necessities of life, and of many of its luxuries.

Stand out, Earl Shrewsbury, and tell me how you account for such a country being filled with wailing and woe; with signs of sorrow, and the reality of poverty, destitution, and starvation? The curse of man has blighted the blessing of heaven.

Recollect this truth: we did not govern our own country.

But, perhaps, these evils might occur from the depravity of the people? No, my lord, no. A thousand times, no! Our people have, it is now avowed, a physical superiority amongst the nations of the earth. Scotch philosophy, so often sneered at, deserves immortality for this demonstration. The Irish people are brave as the bravest; they are generous as the most generous. With them all the ties of domestic life are knit together by fidelity and affection. Their domestic morals are exemplary, and lauded even by their enemies. They are industrious and patient of labour, and search for wages in every region of the earth. They are moral, they are temperate, blessed be God! The public-houses are deserted, and the altar rails are thronged. But, above all, and before all, they are religious. Their religious fidelity has no parallel on the face of the globe. They have endured revilings and torturings, impoverishment and imprisonment, chains, blows, and death! But they have not apostatised, nor ceased to be faithful to "the faith their fathers held to God."

Stand forth, Saxon and stranger! and tell me why the blessings of Providence have been blighted? Why such a people have been afflicted? Why such a country has been cursed with poverty, destitution, and starvation?

We did not govern our own country, Earl of Shrewsbury!

I must draw to a close. I am a Repealer, as you once were; and Repeal, believe me, is not remote nor difficult. In spite of your Tory allies, faction is intrinsically fading in Ireland, and party designations are beginning to give way to the national denomination of Irishmen. Determined as they are upon peaceable, legal, and constitutional courses, and no others; without infringing any law of man, or violating any command of

God ; in the abhorrence of any violation of property ; and in the determination never to shed one drop of blood in our contest, we still " bide our time," and watch our opportunity. Attached to the Throne by the tie of duty, and of affectionate veneration for the Sovereign, we still know that the period cannot be remote when England will, for her own safety, want the heart as well as the arm of Ireland. And she shall have that heart and that arm. But Ireland shall have her own native Parliament once again.

A wise minister may easily advise the exercise of the royal prerogative ; and the Parliament of Ireland which " is not dead, but only sleepeth," may easily awaken in more than pristine majesty, and more than bygone utility.

Grattan declared that he had watched at the cradle of Ireland, and followed her hearse. He is reckoned amongst the illustrious dead. I live to sound the trumpet of her resurrection.

DANIEL O'CONNELL,
Lord Mayor of Dublin.

LETTER TO THE REV. ROBERT DALY.

Parson Daly was a type of character now happily almost extinct. His perseverant iteration of the most absurd calumnies against Catholic faith and practice at last provoked O'Connell's pen. To argue with such men is simply useless; they are either intellectually or morally incapable of argument.

It is one thing to disbelieve a certain doctrine which is received by an opponent as of faith, and it is quite another matter to invent a doctrine which an opponent does not believe, and emphatically denies believing, and then to turn on him and accuse him of being a blasphemer and idolator. There is an absurdity about such a line of conduct which must be patent to every one who is not a victim to it.

O'Connell's clear logical mind revolted against shams with an intensesness which led him to knock them down somewhat roughly.

Merrion Square, 22nd of May, 1826.

PARSON DALY,

You are not polite. You commence your letter to me by a very considerable incivility, as our neighbours the Americans call it. You cull the choicest flowers of vituperation; you use the lowest slang of Orange violence; you apply to the Catholic priesthood epithets which are selected by you, simply because they are supposed to be insulting and calculated to irritate; and you close your inelegant epistle, by giving me a pleasing choice between being a hypocrite or an idolator. *Indeed you are not polite.*

Parson Daly *you are not discreet.* You play your game badly. You should have chosen the language of affected meekness and hypocritical modesty. That was your cue. You should have been as mild in expression as you are malignant of purpose, and you should have cloaked the rage and rancour of your disposition in the sweet and soft accents of pretended charity; you should not have disclosed the irascibility of your temper. You should have assumed a grace though you have it not, and even amidst the sourness of your most discordant theology you should have made the world believe that you were possessed of the manners of a gentleman.

In truth, you are not discreet. I repeat, it Parson Daly; *you are not discreet.* You should have entrenched yourself behind the courtesies of civilized society. But you have rushed at once into the politico-theological arena, flourishing your shillelagh with fierce and vulgar effrontery, forgetting that you are yourself obnoxious to many a hard blow. You are admitted to be a very vain man, but your egregious vanity cannot altogether blind you to the unhappy certainty that you are vulnerable in many points. Therefore, you should not have used plain and blunt virulence of language; for it is quite true (however reluctant you may be to believe the fact) that plain and blunt language may be quite as well used in favour of justice and liberality as it is employed by you in promoting bigotry and circulating calumny.

Parson Daly, you are not wise. You have no tact, no distinct perception of passing events. Anxious as you are to wade through every species of religious mire to a mitre, you do not perceive that the season of success for adventurers of your description has gone by. The abuse of Catholics collectively and individually, the foulest calumnies upon the Catholic clergy and Catholic religion no longer insure promotion in your Church. You came too late. The traffic by which many have thriven is almost at an end. Nay, still better times appear to be approaching, and you and I may both live to see the period when the greatest spiritual rascality shall go without any reward, and when a man may play the malignant hypocrite for years without any increase to his temporal gains. If that period shall arrive, as arrive I certainly think it will, what then will become of the M'Kittricks, the Murlough O'Sullivans, the O'Phelans, the O'Dalys, and all the rest of the miserable group of that day, who may be ready to sell their souls to perdition for a mess of the sugared pottage of the Establishment. Well-a-day! the renegade will then have no cash bidder for his crime; the calumniator will then have no hope of being recompensed in tithes and oblations for his falsehoods; the well-paid lie will become not only out of fashion, but out of use; and journeys to Edinburgh and London, to circulate

untruths and stimulate uncharitableness, will no more be thought of than journeys to the moon and seven stars.

As to yourself, personally, even in the present time, my own opinion is, that unless your *liberal*, your very *liberal* brother, the member for the county of Galway, does something for you in the way of a ministerial bargain, you never will be a bishop. I am sorry to announce to you so doleful a prophecy, but it is indeed my serious opinion.

Having thus given a short summary of your negative qualifications, I shall now, with due deference, proceed to canvass your affirmative demerits.

In the first place then, Parson Daly, you are well known to be —; but, no, no, I will not imitate your example, or adopt your vile phraseology. I will treat you much better than you deserve, and I will describe you thus: Parson Daly, you are perfectly well known to be a very imaginative person; your vivid imagination deludes you; it makes you adopt pure inventions for plain truths. I do not, you perceive, accuse you of wilful falsehoods; but it is perfectly notorious that there is no relying upon any statement of facts that comes from you. You make more mistakes in mere matter of fact than any other living polemic or layman. Whoever is curious to ascertain the quality and nature of your *mistakes in mere matter of fact*, may refer to the pamphlet lately published by the Rev. Mr. Kinsella, of Carlow. It will be there found that although your assertions were often refuted, and your inaccuracies (I use a gentle phrase for choice) often exposed, yet you never had the candour to acknowledge your error, although you had sometimes the modesty not to repeat a detested untruth. It is, I hope, the morbid constitution of your mind rather than deliberate intent to violate truth, that has led you on. Indeed some persons imagine that you do not so much mistake by design as that you are, by the disordered propensities of your nature, incapable of announcing a truth, even by accident.

For my own part I shall not incline to this latter opinion, but that your letter to me affords such melancholy, but decisive

evidence, that this, your moral malady has not decreased. You still talk of the *riot of Carlow*. Yes, after the confutation of your assertion by the Rev. Mr. Kinsella, *you talk of the riot at Carlow*. Yes! after the contradiction of your assertion by the solemn evidence of the respected Chairman of the meeting, Colonel Rochford, you still talk of the *riot at Carlow*. After the publication of that evidence by the House of Commons has made the falsehood known to the entire empire, you still talk of the *riot of Carlow*. Oh shame! shame! but you are alas! incapable of a blush, or you would not repeat the assertion. Oh! how true it is that never was there a rat so fond of rhodium, as you are, at least, of this untruth.

Having thus settled, I trust, in an amicable way, the preliminaries of our future discussions, I come to the pith and marrow of your letter to me.

Your letter is naturally divisible into two topics, of almost equal magnitude in your estimate, but of very unequal importance in point of common sense and religion.

In the first, you seek to vindicate yourself from the charge of having carried to Edinburgh your Carlow propensities to the *falsification of facts*.

In the second, you introduce with indecent and virulent ribaldry, some awful subjects connected with Divine truths.

I intend to follow you through both these topics; and, as to the first, I shall treat with a smile of quiet contempt the unfounded, but haughty, insolence of your style and manner.

And, as to the second, I shall discuss it with an unaffected, but melancholy, sentiment of compassion for your interested attachment to errors of which it is vain to hope to cure you, and I have not the means, if I had the inclination, to *buy* you from your selfish connection with these errors.

The charge against you at Edinburgh was, after all, a light one, considering that *you* were the person accused; it was in your catalogue a mere minor offence; a species of petty larceny in biblical falsifications; it consisted only of the *suppressio veri*, and did not, like the "*Riot at Carlow*," amount to the positive

suggestio falsi. It was simply this: that you detailed to the Scotch Assembly the calumny of Butterworth's Irish minion, of the name of M'Govern, against the Catholic clergy, whilst you suppressed the fact, that an investigation was publicly demanded by the Catholic priest particularly alluded to; that such an investigation took place publicly, and that the inventors of the calumny were thus publicly branded with disgrace.

The charge against you was supported by the evidence of a respectable young gentleman, Mr. M'Carthy, a student of medicine in Edinburgh, and who gave his name to the public as a pledge for his veracity.

Now, how do you answer this charge? Why, by a most improbable statement, a statement of that which may be true, but which is the most unlikely thing in the world to have occurred. You say that the subject of M'Govern's calumny was introduced by a Catholic, a Mr. Mulholland, and that you only read an affidavit of M'Govern's, made in reply to the public vindication of the Catholic priest.

I confess that I cannot bring myself to believe that a Catholic would be the first to introduce the business of M'Govern at *such a meeting*. For what purpose should he do so? With what rational intent could he introduce it at such a meeting? It is quite true, that if anybody else introduced it in order to calumniate the Catholic body, any Catholic might, and would be bound (if permitted) to dispel that calumny. But it is grossly absurd to suppose that a Catholic would be the first to introduce that subject at such a meeting. I repeat again—Why should he do so?

Your defence, therefore, is totally destitute of probability; and when your noted character for inattention to fact is taken into consideration, there will be very few, if any, tempted to acquit you.

The matter stands thus: Mr. M'Carthy makes against you a positive and very probable charge; your reply puts forward a most improbable version of the story. I know both parties; that is, I know Mr. M'Carthy to be a young gentleman of

truth and honour. I know you by character—that is enough. Under these circumstances, you may sneer at the name Timothy M'Carthy; but it is a question of credit between Timothy M'Carthy and Robert Daly, and I confess I must believe the former. This may be very bad taste; but it is, I am convinced, sound judgment.

I really do not know what, under these untoward circumstances, I could suggest to you in a friendly way. Perhaps, you could procure from your brother Biblicals of "The Irish Society," a forged signature or two, or a false affidavit or so; they have plenty of the commodity at your special service; or there are the aides-de-camp of Archbishop Magee now quite disengaged—the Rev. Murtough O'Sullivan and O'Phelan. They are just the boys to prove "process and case." Their testimony you can readily command; and even their support may be of use to him who has become a proverb and a by-word for inaccuracy in mere matter of fact.

But let me cease this trifling, and return to your letter. The next topic I notice in it is the manifest complacency with which you speak of your comrade in saintly virulence—Mr. Townley; and whom you are pleased to designate as Dr. Townley. Why, was it not Townley, the preacher of the Unitarian Calvinists in Munster, who was your associate? If so, he of course denies the Divinity of Christ. I presume you believe in it; and, yet, whether it was such individual or somebody else of the same name that aided your efforts in the Scottish capital, there is one thing certain, that you associate with many Unitarians in the pious work of destroying Popery.

Nothing comes amiss in so holy a warfare; difference of opinion (for yours is mere *opinion*, not *faith*), difference of opinion upon such a subject as the Divinity of the eternal Son of God does not interfere to prevent you from forming a Holy Alliance with the unbeliever, in order to battle against the ancient faith of Christendom.

I beg to know whether it was because Townley disbelieves the Divinity of our most sacred and adorable Redeemer that you

have dubbed him with the title of Doctor? It is like enough. Suffer me now to suggest another topic. The London Bible Society, to which you belong, have, it seems, quarrelled amongst themselves; the most important results have been produced by this quarrel. The funds of the Bible Society have been diminished by a sum of £10,000 in one year! You who are probably indifferent to a difference amongst Biblicals on the trivial subject of religion, are sufficiently alive to a difference on the very important point of money; there is a deficiency of £10,000 in one year, resulting from your biblical dispute.

The question which has divided your pious forces is stated in the Report to be—"Whether or not the Apocryphal books should be circulated by the Society with the other Scriptures?" Observe, if you please, that this involves another question namely, "What books are Apocryphal?"

The one upon no less awful a subject than the Divinity of our adorable Redeemer.

Another upon the quantity of the Apocryphal books.

A third, again, upon the propriety of circulating these books.

If Dr. Townley be the man I take him for, then he is bound, or at all events several others of your colleagues, being Unitarians, are bound upon your own principles to treat you, Parson Daly, as involved in guilt of the *nature of idolatry*—I mean in the guilt of adoring a mere human being; that is, always supposing that you really believe what you are paid for asserting you do believe.

Now, how are these questions to be decided between you and your colleagues? But who is to decide? or are these divisions to endure as long as human passions, human interests, and human folly continue?

Alas! there is no other hope of a termination. What unity, then, can ever subsist between you and your late or present associates? an unity of mischief to assail and calumniate others; but no *Unity* or *Faith* can ever subsist amongst yourselves.

Parson Daly, you have no living tribunal to which these questions could be submitted; each of you founds his own

opinions on the Scriptures. The Scriptures alone cannot therefore decide the controversy.

I now ask you, in the name of common sense, do you not feel the necessity of some tribunal, clothed with sufficient power and endowed with sufficient intelligence, to pronounce a final decision between these jarring parties, and so terminate contention? Are you so destitute of common honesty as to deny that such a tribunal would at least be *desirable*? Are you so destitute of veracity as to deny that it would be *wise*, if it were *possible* to institute such a tribunal? Can you dare deny that God is *wise*, or will you say that it is not, and was not *possible* for Him to establish such a tribunal?

To me, who most humbly and fervently bow beneath the consciousness of the perfect wisdom and omnipotent power of the Eternal Creator of the universe—whose holy Name be ever praised and blessed!—to me, the existence of such a tribunal is as plain as its necessity. I see it; I recognise it; I know it in the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, founded by my Divine Redeemer on the imperishable foundation of the Rock, St. Peter, and continued in unbroken succession to this hour.

You taunt me with submission to priests. You again seek to delude. I do not submit to this, that, or the other priest; but I do submit readily and at once to the voice of the Universal Church communicated to me by her ministers.

This is not a vain or idle distinction. I will bring it at once to the test: Suppose any one priest, or several priests were to announce to me doctrines different from those of the Universal Catholic Church, or tenets repugnant to what has been believed in that Church, *semper ubique, et ab omnibus*, you would then, Parson Daly, find me reject with unaffected abhorrence such doctrines and tenets. I would fling them from me as I would the *spirited*, although not inspired, rhapsodies of Brimstone Cooper, or the ribald declamations of Master Robert Daly.

The next matter in your letter contains a double delusion. You accuse the meek and modest, but zealous parish priest of Bray of bigotry, under the elegant *sobriquet* of a *Romish priest*.

And oh, marvellous! you praise yourself for liberality!!! I leave my respected friend, the Rev. Mr. Doyle, to vindicate himself. I am convinced he is perfectly well able to do it; but I also know his modest and retiring nature, and how unwilling he is to appear in print before the public. Yet, indeed, you left him no choice. Your calumny of him is circulating as extensively almost as the English language is known; and, however reluctant he may be to embark in newspaper controversy, he must submit to a most serious imputation, or come forward and give the public such facts as may, and certainly will, vindicate him from your interpretation.

You boast of your liberality. This, indeed, outdoes your own outdoings. You, liberal! You!!! Oh, unfeeling and cruel man, how can you taunt and insult, by such senseless boastings, the misery which surrounds you and desolates your neighbourhood. It is now about twelve years since you got the living of Powerscourt, as it is generally called. When you came to the parish, I am told, the utmost cordiality prevailed between the Catholics and Protestants. Catholic servants served Protestant masters with fidelity and gratitude; Catholic children were educated by Catholic teachers, at the expense of Protestant proprietors; Catholic tenants supported in comfort their Catholic families upon the estates of Protestant landlords, and evinced their attachment to Protestant landlords by the regularity of their payments and the propriety of their conduct; and, above all, a native spirit of kindness and goodness of heart governing the demeanour of one or two noble families (who shall now be nameless), served to give a mellow sentiment of respect on the one hand, and affection on the other, to the universal peace and good-will of the neighbourhood.

Biblical Parson Daly, is this the scene now? Is there no change? Alas! the Catholic servants have been excluded with an iron hand from the Protestant families, and driven out to starve; or, if a few remained, they have purchased their places at the expense of those smaller apostacies in which a Biblical glories, in default of procuring greater. Apostacies which, by showing their infidelity to duties they deem pleasing to

their Eternal Master, are considered sufficient to warrant their fidelity to their temporal masters! Vain, perhaps, fatal delusion. For the Catholic children, "*cunning craftiness lay in wait to deceive them*;" and to defeat that craftiness, it has become necessary, in general, to remove them from the schools supported by Protestants; and there are now few indeed of the Catholic poor educated at the expense of Protestants. Out of their own poverty, the Catholics in your parish are now compelled to find the funds necessary for education. But the mischief does not rest there. The parents of poor Catholic children undergo a cruel persecution to compel them to consent to have their children taught tenets they abhor. How many a wretched labourer has felt the iron enter his very soul beneath this cruel persecution. I appeal on these topics to the Rev. Mr. Doyle, and I call on him, in the name of that God at whose altar he ministers, to announce the whole truth respecting this vile persecution.

Again, in your neighbourhood, are not the Catholic tenants expelled, and persons selected to replace them, merely because they profess a Protestant creed of one fantastic description or other, no matter what?

If these facts exist, and co-exist with your incumbency, what a cruel and hardhearted man you must be to see those scenes daily, and then to talk of your liberality! The persons who carry on these species of persecutions certainly did not, as did the ancient French Calvinists, cut the throats of their Catholic neighbours, simply because it is no longer in their power; but, they evince the genuine spirit of persecution which would, in Spain (if the people had not twice, and authoritatively forbidden), continue the Inquisition; and which, in Ireland, erected the Orange lodges, and still fondly cherishes the embers of that base and bloody faction.

I cannot quit the subject of the persecution which the Catholics endure in your parish without declaring my firm conviction that, if there was in each county in Ireland, one parish where so much virulence and acrimony were exhibited to the Catholic poor, the result would, within six months, be a bloody

and horrible rebellion, of so desperate a character that it may be difficult to calculate on the ultimate consequences, whilst the immediate consequence would certainly be most melancholy and deplorable.

I have written so much, that I feel unwilling to lengthen this letter, and yet the most important part of your epistle remains unanswered; I mean the part purely theological.

It is somewhat strange that you should assail me with theology; I am a mere layman, whose time is abundantly occupied. You may, perhaps, know that my profession gives sufficient occupation for every hour I can devote to labour, and that my moments of relaxation and amusement are consumed by my capacity of an agitator and demagogue; and yet, layman though I be, you come forward and assail me with theological arguments. Now, I like this. There is, in spite of you, some candour in it. You attacked our theologians and divines, and were defeated. It is a pretty clear admission of that defeat, that you now deem yourself only strong enough for a mere layman. Yet a Catholic layman is, perhaps, the just proportion for a religionist of your description. The retailer of a thousand-times-refuted calumny, such as you are; the repeater, such as you are, of ribald argument, the fallacy of which has been a thousand times exposed, had better avoid divines of the ancient Church, and seek to break a spiritual lance only with laymen.

I am a layman, occupied with many cares, and yet I am able, I trust, to give a reason for the hope that is in me, convinced that truth is in its nature one—that only one faith can possibly be true; deeply impressed with the certainty that an eternity of happiness or misery is at stake, and that upon such an important subject, unaffected caution in seeking truth, and the utmost and plainest sincerity in the sight of God, in embracing and adhering to divine truth at the risk and sacrifice of every worldly interest; that such caution and sincerity are essentially necessary. With these sentiments fully fixed in my mind; with all the faculties which I possess (such as they are) habituated to the daily task of weighing evidence and balancing the force of conflicting arguments; with these advantages to

give maturity to my judgment, I can, as I do, declare the certainty with which that judgment humbly but firmly reposes in the faith and doctrines of the Catholic Church.

Nay, I go further; I am perfectly convinced, that any man who will look coolly and dispassionately at the subject, who will divest his mind of individual pride, and fling from him all the allurements of worldly interest, and who will get rid of every angry feeling and bad passion, and who will come coolly and sincerely to the consideration of religion, every such man will easily discover in the Catholic Church those plain and distinct marks of truth and authenticity which will lead him to the obvious and inevitable conclusion that Christianity could not be true and Catholicity false; or, in other words, that Catholicity and Christianity are identical—one and the same.

That men do not, even upon the most awful of all subjects, endeavour to place themselves in such a temper of mind as I have described, is, alas! but too plain. There are many obvious reasons why they do not do so; but there is no reason so powerful as that spirit of persecution of which, indeed, you yourself are so brimful, and which excites so many violent emotions as to prevent the still small voice of conscience from being heard. The voice will never be allowed fair play until the professors of Christianity, of every sect and persuasion, shall agree with me and differ with you in the conviction that one of the greatest crimes which a Christian can commit is to persecute any human being on the score of religion; or to use force or fraud, bribery or punishment, in order to procure proselytism, or to inflict chastisement for what he may deem erroneous opinions.

Let me now come—it is time for me—to the theological part of your letter.

The theological topics you chiefly put forward are two.

The first involves the question relative to the circulation of the Sacred Scriptures.

The second includes some ribaldry, which you call argument on the subject of the Real Presence, or, perhaps more accurately, that of Transubstantiation, which we Catholics believe to be the necessary result of the Real Presence in the Holy Eucharist.

As to the first, you do, as your fashion, mistake the question between you and the Catholic clergy.

The question is not—and you ought to know it is not—upon the circulation of the sacred writings; it turns upon the interpretations of those writings. The Catholic Church encourages, and has always encouraged, the reading of the Scriptures in a proper spirit and disposition; but that Church has denied, and always will deny, the right of private or individual interpretation.

For myself, in order to satisfy me that it is just and proper to deny the right of private interpretation, it is quite enough to know that the Catholic Church denies that right. I hear and obey the voice of the Church; but there are abundant reasons, exclusive of the authority of the Church, to satisfy any rational man of the mischiefs resulting from the private interpretation of the Scriptures.

First—It necessarily creates sects and divisions and various conflicting opinions and persuasions relative to divine truth. Look at England and her three hundred and more discordant sects, all springing from and founded on the right of private interpretation of the Scriptures. Now, reason tells us, in a manner that cannot be mistaken, that truth cannot be variant and different from itself.

If any one of the three hundred English sects be true, the rest must be false. Private interpretation, therefore, gives just this chance to each sectary—that, out of the three hundred religions, his may be the true one; but then it marks that chance with this irresistible consequence—that the other two hundred and ninety-nine must be false. In other words, there are the frightful odds of 299 to 1 against each particular sectary in England; and the result of this private interpretation is, that on the most serious and important of all subjects, the most absurd and, indeed, insane gambling is introduced and sustained by you and your Biblical allies.

But I will bring this argument more home to you. You and your Unitarian friend, Dr. Townley, probably travelled together in the same carriage through Scotland—at least, you

travelled on the same errand. Now, you believe in the Divinity of Christ. I am sure you do; for you will allow that you will be not only the vilest of hypocrites, if you did not so believe, but the greatest of knaves, for you have received many and many thousands of pounds for preaching that doctrine. But Townley has discovered that you are in error, and that you are in the error to the extent of adoring a mere human being!!! You are—or, at least, ought to be—shocked. Will you inquire how Townley made this discovery? Why, simply, by that easy process, the right of private interpretation of the Scriptures! Here is one frightful consequence of that right brought home to your very door; and yet you encourage the assertion of that very right, instead of cautioning your friend against the evils of blinding pride, and the advantages of dutiful and rational submission to authority.

Secondly—The impropriety of private interpretation is pointed out in the written word of God itself. Indeed, it is expressly forbidden. Look at the 2nd Epistle of St. Peter, c. 1, v. 25, and you will find that “no prophecy of Scripture is of any private interpretation.” Look at the Epistles of St. Paul to the Ephesians, c. 4, especially the 11th and 12th verses, and you will find in the former, the 11th verse, that apostles, and prophets, and evangelists, and pastors, and doctors were given to the Church, and in the latter, the reason of that gift—namely, that we should not be “children, tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrines by the wickedness of men, by the cunning craftiness by which they lie in wait to deceive.” Can you read and not see against what species of men it is that we are warned? Look again at the 2nd Epistle of St. Peter, c. 3, v. 16, where it is said, speaking of the Epistles of St. Paul, “in which are some things hard to be understood, and which the unlearned and unstable wrest, as also the other Scriptures, to their own destruction.”

See how consistent with the written word of God is the Catholic doctrine in this as in everything else when soundly construed. That Church knows and teaches that the Scriptures, read with the proper disposition and humble spirit, make men

wise unto salvation ; but that left to be wrested by private interpretation, at the fancy of the unstable and unlearned, may lead to destruction, wrest them as they may.

Thirdly—The right of private interpretation is quite inconsistent with that unity of faith which is so repeatedly commanded in the written word—that there can be but one true faith is the plain dictate of common sense. It is also declared with equal and most emphatic distinctness in the Scriptures. Look at the 10th chapter of St. John, the 15th and 16th verses, after speaking of laying down His life for His sheep, He adds, “and other sheep I have that are not of this fold, them also I must bring, and them also shall hear my voice, and there shall be one fold and one shepherd.” Look at the epistle I have already quoted, St. Paul to the Ephesians, c. 4; the 3rd, 4th, 5th, and 6th verses, where the Apostle bids them be “careful to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace. One body and one spirit, as you are called in one hope of your calling; one Lord, one faith, and one baptism.” Need I cite more? I could fill many pages with references of a similar tendency, but it is unnecessary. Now, let me ask, whether you or your Unitarian colleagues preserve this Unity of Faith? Is your and their faith one? Is your faith and their faith the Arminian, and Calvinist, and Methodist, and Socinian, and Raphael, &c., one; and where has the endless variety of other denominations arisen? Why, from the private interpretations of Scripture. Indeed, I believe that even you will not deny that private individual interpretation is utterly inconsistent with unity of faith, and productive of the utmost variety in the modes of belief. How consistent that is with the written word of God I leave you, sweet sir, to ruminate upon in charitable and humane leisure.

Fourthly—You call the circulation of the Bible opening the door of heaven to the peasant. Now, sir, I think the Catholic Church right in preventing the circulation of unauthorized versions of the Scriptures, or any version with a view to private interpretation. So far from thinking the circulation a mode to

open a door to heaven, I look to the evidence of facts, and find a melancholy experience of the fatal immorality which has accompanied that circulation in England. I appeal to facts in order to ascertain whether any practical utility has followed the unlimited distribution of the Bible in England. Follow me, I pray you, and mark those facts.

England is the great theatre of Biblical exertions. It has been boasted of, that every man, woman, and child in England had, or could easily procure, a Bible; Lord Liverpool, at the head of a Bible Society, made this boast; and looking to the success of the Bible societies in England for the last twenty-five years, he vauntingly called England a Land of Bibles.

Now mark this Land of Bibles, and let these few facts attest its morality—

First fact—There was a Parliamentary Report on the Poor Laws, about the year 1823, and several Protestant clergymen were examined. I can refer you, if you desire, to the very words of their evidence: but the substance was distinctly this, that in the marriages celebrated amongst the working and poor classes in England, there were at the period of the marriage nineteen of the women out of twenty in a state of pregnancy. And I submit to you that a percentage of five virgins out of every hundred married women is rather small for a Land of Bibles.

Second fact—There have been two pamphlets published recently in England by clergymen of the Established Church relative to the labourers and poor. One of these clergymen resides in Gloucestershire, the other in Norfolk. They both detail the state of the morals of the lower classes in England, and concur in describing the villages in the country parts of England as “dens of thieves and prostitutes.” Blessed Land of Bibles!

Third fact—One of the clergymen I have above alluded to, the Rev. Mr. Brereton, is rector of Walsingham in Norfolk. It appears that his parish is now something less populous than it was at the time of the Reformation!!! Look to the 30th

and 31st pages of this pamphlet; you will find that "in half the cottage families there were cases of bastardy;" and mark, it appears from a reference to the parish registers, for a period of two hundred and seventy years, that the last twenty-five years contain more illegitimate births than the preceding two centuries and a half!!! Compare this with the boasting of Lord Liverpool, and admire the Land of Bibles—and mark the curious coincidence between immorality and fanaticism.

Fourth fact—This same Lord Liverpool, on Tuesday, the 9th of this present month of May, in introducing "the Criminal Justice Imprisonment Bill" into the House of Lords, expressly said "that crime had greatly increased in England within the last seven years, as compared with the seven years preceding." See, then, the value of all these Biblical exertions, which are so much boasted of by you and your allies. Behold England increasing in Bibles and in crime—and Parson Daly calling the circulation of those Bibles the door to heaven.

It will be said that I calumniate the people of England, whilst I merely collect the testimony of their own clergymen and governors. Be it so—I cheerfully submit to the calumny; I use these facts for the purpose of showing that, as both reason and religion concur with the Catholic Church in opposing the undue and improper circulation of the Scriptures, so the evidence of facts demonstrates the wisdom of that Church, to whom it was promised that the Spirit of Wisdom should abide with her for ever.

I now come to the last and most important topic in your letter. It relates to the Real Presence—I say emphatically the Real Presence—because any man who believes in the Real Presence is, in my judgment, inconsistent with himself, unless he also believes in Transubstantiation. I do not know, nor can I conjecture, of what materials your mind may be composed—whether it be, as I suspect, imbued with sour sectarianism, of so bitter and ungenerous a nature that your worship rather resembles the fear-inspired invocation of the demon by the ignorant Indian, than that charitable, but humble hope, which I think Christi-

anity was formed to create and foster. If you have in you any materials for charity, surely you ought, at least, to wish that the doctrines of the Real Presence were true. It places our Adorable Redeemer in so amiable a point of view—it gives to His love for man so active and perpetual an energy—it presents so constant a memorial of all He did and said, and suffered for us—it reminds us so strongly, and even by His own presence, of the bitterness of His passion, and the agony of His death for us—that even those who disbelieve ought to wish that so sweet, so constant, so universal a pledge of divine love was given us. For my humble part, he who would tear this belief from my mind, would rend asunder one of the tenderest and most powerful links that bind my soul in humble and tremulous, but strong hope, to my Father and my God. Oh, how sincerely do I bless His holy name, that as there is no sweeter tenet of Christianity, so there is none founded on more clear, convincing, and indeed, demonstrative arguments.

Let me first rebuke you (I now do it gently) for that sour uncharitableness which makes you accuse of idolatry a mistaken belief in the Real Presence. Even if it were a mistake it would not be idolatrous. My adoration is directed to Christ, true God and true man. In the sacrament I adore nothing but Him—my intention is directed to the adoration of Him. If He were not there it would be a mere mistake of fact and not of intent, and could not therefore be idolatry. If, when Christ was upon earth, a man who did not know his person mistook an unbelieving Jew for Christ, and adored him, thinking it was Christ, would he incur the guilt of idolatry? Certainly not—neither would I be guilty of idolatry even if I were mistaken as to the fact. And your assertion to the contrary is, I hope, a proof only of your ignorance of subjects connected with religion, and not evidence of a spirit unbecoming a clergyman of any persuasion or a Christian of any sect.

But I am not mistaken—the doctrine of the Real Presence is founded on the clearest and most abundant proofs. Listen to the manner in which a mere layman of the Catholic Church,

amidst the pressure of various and urgent occupations, can place those proofs before you.

I believe in the Real Presence for three reasons:—

First—That belief is enjoined by the holy Catholic Church, and both reason and religion combine to assure me that that Church cannot possibly lead me into error.

Reason tells me that, if Christianity were a mere human institution, its founder, if he were not an entire idiot, must have established some tribunal or authority to which all differences of sentiments amongst his followers should be submitted, their disputes and dissensions terminated, and the entire body kept together in peace and unity.

Without some tribunal or authority of this description, no society, body, or community of persons could be kept together for any length of time. Particular occasions and temporary motives might keep them together for a season, but there could be no permanence nor continual peace amongst them, unless they changed their natures, and became more or less than men.

The experience of the present day—the crowds of sectaries which are produced by a rebellion against the tribunal of religion—the marked and most important difference which exists between you and Dr. Townley—the interminable nature of the controversies that arise between those who are out of the pale of the Church; all these feuds add to the force of the strong but obvious reasoning, and convince every judgment, that the Founder of Christianity would not be wise unless he had established such a tribunal.

But that Founder was not only wise but also all-powerful. He therefore was able to endow the tribunal which He did establish with sufficient wisdom to render it impossible for that tribunal to lead into any error whatsoever.

This, of which common sense and reason would alone suffice to convince me, is placed beyond any possibility of doubt by the written testimony of God Himself. I will point your attention to some of that testimony—it is easily brought together, and to every unbiassed mind it must be conclusive.

First—In the fourth chapter of St. John, in those awful moments which immediately preceded His passion, our Divine Redeemer consoles His Apostles with the following promise—see v. 16, 17: “And I will ask the Father, and he shall give you another Paraclete that he may abide with you for ever, the Spirit of Truth,” &c.; and in the 26th v., “But the Paraclete—the Holy Ghost—whom the Father will send in my name, he will teach you all things.” Now these promises could not have been made to the Apostles as individuals, because, as individuals, they were not themselves to “abide for ever.” It must, therefore, have been to them and to their successors in the Church to whom the perpetuity could alone belong—and with whom, therefore, it is plain that “the Holy Ghost, the Spirit of Truth, teaching all things, abides for ever.”

Second—The Gospel of St. Matthew closes with the equally consolatory promise from our Divine Redeemer Himself, addressed to His Apostles—“Go you, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them,” &c. &c., “and behold I am with you all days, even unto the consummation of the world.” This promise, too, is like the former, unlimited in point of duration, save by the duration of time itself. Thus, then, have we express promises that the Holy Ghost, the Spirit of Truth, and our Adorable Redeemer Himself, would abide and remain for ever with His Church.

Thirdly—I refer to one passage more, and which, indeed, alone is all-sufficient—it is the 18th verse of the 16th chapter of St. Matthew: “And I say unto thee: That thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.” Thus, then, have we the most unbounded certainty that the Church is founded on the most solid foundation—that the gates of hell have not prevailed, and never can prevail against it—and that the eternal Son of God, who is one with the Father, and also the Holy Ghost, the Spirit of Truth, for ever abides with that Church. Can it be possible, then, the Church so founded, so supported, so directed and

taught can err? Who shall attempt to say that the gates of hell have prevailed against her; and if they have not so prevailed, how foolish is it to stand in hostility against that Church, and of what value are all the thousands of pounds which you, Mr. Daly, are paid for your hostility to that Church—of what avail are they to you?

For my part, allow me to revere authority thus constituted, and to believe promises the most emphatic and explicit that language can convey. Alas! what a strange creature is man to venture to contradict those solemn promises by paltry and peddling chicanery, and to set up his own individual notions, whether crude or deliberate, against the voice of the Church, which is thus founded and supported. It may and does gratify human pride to shake off authority, and glorify itself in its own miserable conceits, but does it not also exhibit the extent of human folly to see men risk their dearest interests for eternity, upon the precarious presumption that they are wiser than the Church of Christ.

For my part, my first reason—and it would alone to my mind supersede all others—for believing in the Real Presence is, that the doctrine is taught by the one Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church.

A second reason for believing it; and one that if I had leisure and ability I would address to every sincere and unbiassed Christian in the universe—no matter to what sect or persuasion he may belong—my second reason for believing in the Real Presence is, that it is most clearly and repeatedly revealed in the written word of God. It would, I believe, be difficult to find any one Christian tenet so clearly and repeatedly announced in Scripture.

The signs and types of the Old Law referred to it. The Pascal Lamb was but a figure of the Holy Eucharist—the priesthood of the order of Melchisedech, to which Christ for ever belongs, typified in the bread and wine, the elements for the service of the altar, by the priesthood of the New Law. Let me, however, pass over these, and come to some of the pas-

sages of the New Testament which relate to this Divine mystery.

Let any unbiassed, candid, and sincere man, unclouded by passion or pride, take up the 6th chapter of the Gospel according to St. John, and see whether it be possible, without perversity of some kind, to resist the evidence contained in that chapter.

Let him, however, recollect, first, that the first miracle with which our Redeemer announced His divine authority was a miracle by transubstantiation—it was the changing the substance of water into the substance of wine. Let him, secondly, recollect that one of the miracles which was most frequently repeated by our Saviour was the multiplication of the identity of one and the same substance. Let him then look into the 6th chapter of St. John, and he will find that it begins with precisely a miracle of this nature: five barley loaves and two fishes were found sufficient in the hands of our Saviour to feed about five thousand persons. Nay, we find by the 13th verse, that, after this multitude had been fully fed, the fragments were gathered up, and they “filled twelve baskets with the fragments of the five barley loaves, which remained over and above to them that had eaten.” Recollect that twelve baskets were filled with the fragments of five barley loaves. It is so written—which five loaves could of course have been easily carried in one basket, and yet there were “twelve baskets filled with the fragments!” Where is now the reverend, the very reverend Robert Daly, with his question? Why does he not now ask how twelve baskets could be filled with “the fragments” of that which, whole and entire, might be contained in one basket, or at the utmost in two, but let us say in five? Alas for his questioning! Here is the text express against his interrogatories.

One would imagine that the persons who were present at and participated in such a miracle as this, would submit to the authority of Him by whom it was performed. Do we find it so? Do we find that they who were thus miraculously fed,

and saw with their own eyes the fragments exceed, at least nine or tenfold, or probably twelve or twenty times the amount of the original quantity—do we find that they yielded to the Divine authority? No, there were Robert Dalys amongst them, and the miracle was thrown away upon them who were fed by its means: as, alas! it is thrown away upon the disciples and companions of Robert Daly in the present day.

Let, however, the candid and fair men who value their salvation beyond every pecuniary interest or triumph of argument, proceed with the sixth chapter of St. John; they will see that this appears to be just the occasion for the Divine goodness to announce some truth which human self-sufficiency would hesitate to receive, and call a hard saying. Accordingly we find that whilst the multitude were, or at least ought to have been, strongly impressed with this miracle, our Divine Saviour availed Himself of that as the fit moment to announce the doctrine of the Real Presence, as it is now believed, in the Sacrament of the Eucharist.

I should transcribe the whole chapter, if I were to put forward all that it contains on this most important subject. I only beg the truth-seeking reader to observe that Christ, in the 29th verse, takes care to inform His hearers that “this is the work of God, that you believe in him whom he sent;” and after giving this caution, let the natural and distinct way in which the doctrine of the Real Presence is brought forward be particularly noted—and in particular how strongly and repeatedly the necessity of explicit belief in Him is enforced. Look at the 35th verse, in which He declares Himself to be the Bread of Life; and the ensuing passages, at which the Jews murmured and expressed their doubts—but how are these doubts met? Look at the 47th and the ensuing verses to the 52nd inclusively, which I cannot avoid transcribing—“He that believeth in me hath everlasting life.” “I am the bread of life. Your fathers did eat manna in the desert, and are dead. This is the bread which came down from heaven, that if any man eat of it he may not die. I am the living bread which came down from

heaven: If any man eat of this bread he shall live for ever; and the bread that I will give is my flesh for the life of the world." Nothing certainly can be more distinct and explicit. Accordingly the carnal question-asking Jews revolted at the plain and obvious meaning. The spirit which now animates you, Mr. Daly, was then quite alive amongst the unhappy Jews. The very trick of arguing by question was then, as it is now, the resource of obstinate and misguided error. Thus we find by the 53rd verse that "the Jews strove amongst themselves, saying: How can this man give us his flesh to eat?"

Now you perceive that those who heard our Saviour understood His words, as they manifestly ought, in their plain and ordinary sense. If that was a misconception it would of course have been rectified. Our Saviour who had shown his tender compassion for their bodily wants and supplied them with corporal food, would certainly have laid no snare for their immortal souls. That charity which brought Him from heaven to die for those unbelievers, and for you and me, would certainly have relieved them from all doubts and difficulties if his words were figurative, or conveyed any other than their obvious meaning. It is impossible, utterly impossible, to suppose that He could have intended to deceive, or that He would leave them in any mistake or error. Attend, therefore, to His reply, and if it does not make your heart burn within you, deplore your misery and seek at the source for true light.

Attend to the reply to the question—"How can this man give us his flesh to eat?"

I will mark the verses of that reply:—

54 Now Jesus said to them: Amen, amen, I say unto you: Except you eat of the flesh of the son of man, and drink his blood, you shall not have life in you.

55 He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood: hath everlasting life: and I will raise him up in the last day.

56 For my flesh is meat indeed: and my blood is drink indeed:

57 He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, abideth in me, and I in him.

58 As the living Father hath sent me, and I live by the Father: so he that eateth me, the same also shall live by me.

59 This is the bread which cometh down from heaven. Not as your fathers did eat manna, and are dead. He that eateth this bread shall live for ever.

Can any fair or honest man now hesitate to say, that this answer, given to persons who murmured in their doubts, was given to put an end to all doubts, and enforce truth by authority? It of course removed all doubt from the minds of the Jews, who heard our Saviour, and they accordingly with that pert flippancy which even now characterises the writings of Mr. Daly, exclaimed, "This saying is hard, and who can bear it?"

Even the chosen disciples secretly murmured, and their thoughts were read in their inmost souls by our Divine Master, see verse 63. Who will believe that He pretended to deceive them, as well as the Jews? Who will believe that He would leave them in error? It would have been so easy to have undeceived the Jews, if they laboured under any mistake. It would have been so easy to have reconciled the disciples, if they had any misconception; it was only to say, you misunderstood me—that is not my meaning.

But the truth is manifest—they did not misunderstand. It was literally His meaning, that which His words naturally expressed, and accordingly our Saviour appeals to the greatest of His miracles—His ascension into Heaven—to sustain His authority, even with His disciples, that they may unhesitatingly believe Him when He said that He "would give his flesh to eat, and his blood to drink." His reply contained these reproachful words:—"Doth this scandalize you? If then you shall see the son of man ascend up where he was before."

This perseverance in the assertion of the doctrine, that I am now, humbly and feebly, but sincerely sustaining, had its natural effect on the proud and credulous spirits by whom I was surrounded. Although they had been fed by His marvellous bounty; although they had heard him appeal to

a still greater and transcendent miracle; yet we find in the 67th verse:—"After this, many of his disciples went back, and walked no more with him."

Let me then close my comment on the chapter, with three verses more, and a few observations:—

68 Then Jesus said to the twelve: Will you also go away?

69 And Simon Peter answered him: Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life.

70 And we have believed and have known that thou art the Christ the Son of God.

What course ought we to pursue? Ought we, because there are difficulties in the way of our belief, ought we because we deem these sayings as hard, to go back and walk no more with Him?

Let Mr. Daly take that course if he pleases; for us, we know that Christ has the words of Eternal Life, and we yield implicitly our faith to His words.

I have dwelt long upon the 6th chapter of St. John, but I have by no means exhausted the reasonings which it furnishes. On the contrary, I have sketched only a few obvious arguments, and totally omitted many powerful topics which that chapter furnishes. I wish that every candid and dispassionate man would read it, and would also read the miserable cavils by which the innate force of the testimony borne in that chapter to the doctrine of the Real Presence is sought to be eluded; and unless there was some cause for the blindness or the fatuities of the mind of the person calmly considering that chapter, I do not see how he could avoid discovering the truth.

There are abundant other Scriptural proofs of this doctrine. The institution of the Sacrament of the Eucharist itself. The words used on that occasion are so clear, so strong, so distinct, that it requires some effort to bring oneself to believe that any reasonable being can resist the force of the words. I will quote those to be found in St. Matthew, chapter xxvi., verses 26, 27, 28:—

And while they were at supper, Jesus took bread and blessed, and broke, and gave to his disciples, and said: Take ye and eat, this is my body. And taking the chalice, he gave thanks: and gave to them, saying: Drink ye all of this; for this is my blood of the New Testament, which shall be shed for many unto the remission of sins.

It is not possible to use words more distinctly calculated to convey their meaning. How do you resist then? By a very summary, and very easy, but not very reverential mode. It is simply by contradicting our Divine Redeemer directly and without circumlocution. He says, It is my body. You say, It is not. He says, It is my blood. You say, It is not. In that plain and simple way stands the controversy. Let him who believes the Word of God with me believe in the Real Presence. Let those who directly contradict the Word of God join with Mr. Daly in making that belief a subject of ribald jest and paltry buffoonery.

I shall notice the miserable sophistry by which the force of these plain words is sought to be eluded. It is by this sapient discovery, namely, that our Saviour occasionally makes use of metaphors. Why, He certainly does, and so does everybody who speaks any human language. But, in the first place, a metaphor is as easily understood, and is as true in its meaning, as any simple phrase; and, in the next, it is a most gross violation of every rule of common sense and grammar to call this phrase, "This is my body," a metaphor. It is rational, although impious, to say that it is false; but it is nonsensical to say that it is metaphorical.

Perhaps on this subject I should not quote any other text; but there are two passages which bring me in contact with the Protestant version of the Bible, and may therefore be particularly noticed. They are to be met with in the first Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, chapter xi., verses 27 and 29. In the first of these the words are:—"Wherefore whosoever shall eat this bread, or drink the chalice of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and the blood of the Lord." Now, in the name of common sense, could anybody be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord unless that body and that blood

were present for men to be guilty of? To what miserable subterfuges are you, Protestants, driven in order to elude a denunciation so plain, so direct, so manifest!!!

The other passage is this:—"For he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh judgment to himself, not discerning the body of the Lord."

Mark well the phrase. Can it be a crime not to discern what is not there? If the body of Christ be not in the Sacrament, can it be a crime not to discern it there? And on the other hand, how can the body of the Lord be discerned, unless it can be actually present in the Sacrament?

Let a fair and reasonable answer be given to these questions. Let the answer come from a candid mind, divested of the spirit of contention, and disposed to embrace truth; the result is obvious. Such a man will answer at once, "The body of Christ must be present, in order to be discerned. The body of Christ must be in the Sacrament, else it could not possibly be a crime not to discern it there."

Let me now, by way of parenthesis, remark that the Protestant version of the Bible contains a gross, glaring, and an admitted, but I believe still an uncorrected falsification of the above-mentioned 27th verse. The word *or* is translated into *and*, and thus, what is disjunctive in the original is copulative in the Protestant version. It is well known that this falsification was intended to answer a particular purpose; and is it not continued till this day? Yet the falsification circulates *this*, too, as the word of God.

Let me also remark that in the 29th verse, the word which the Catholics translate "judgment," is rendered "damnation" in the Protestant version. The meaning of both is so nearly the same, if not the same, that I do not quarrel with, perhaps, the more emphatic translation of the Protestant. But I would respectfully and earnestly solicit every candid Protestant who sincerely wishes to be in the right upon a subject of eternal importance, to reflect seriously on what it is for which his Bible denounces upon him the sentence of damnation. Is it not for

not discerning the body of the Lord in the Sacrament? Let him then return to the Catholic Church, and he will, with us, discern that Blessed and Adorable Body and reverence it in truth and simplicity of heart.

I have thus terminated, for the present, my Scripture quotations to sustain the doctrine of the Real Presence. I have by no means exhausted these quotations. I have omitted many, because there is not space or time remaining to introduce them for the present. I may, and probably will, be sneered at for dwelling too long on subjects of a purely theological nature. I care not. My wish is merely to show you that a Catholic layman, even without leisure, can defend his faith upon grounds which even you ought to respect.

I have now gone through the reasons which sustain the Catholic in his belief of the Real Presence, as founded on the authority of the Church of God, and on that of His written Word. I proceed to another distinct and powerful ground of this belief.

Thirdly—This belief is sustained by the force of the unbroken tradition or unwritten Word of God, preserved by His Church. To a Catholic, who equally reveres the unwritten with the written Word, the testimony of tradition is of a decisive nature. By the Protestants, this is considered as mere human testimony. I will not, at present, enter into the arguments by which that notion of the Protestants has been so often and so ably confuted; but, even as human testimony, it ought to have its weight with every rational man.

Now, the fact is plain, and capable of demonstration, that the doctrine of the Real Presence has been the doctrine of the Church from the Ascension of our Divine Redeemer to the time of the Reformation, and has been continued by the Catholic Church to the present moment. This is a fact of great importance, and it is easily proved by a reference to all the original writers, in every age and country. All these holy men, who have by consent of mankind been called "Fathers of the Church," have devoutly believed the Real

Presence, and unanimously borne testimony to the perpetuity of that belief in the Church, from the days of the Apostles inclusively.

At first, several Protestant writers endeavoured to dispute this fact, and sought, by the most strange sophistry, to distort the obvious meaning of the ancient Fathers; but the attempt was too glaring a fraud to have any permanent success; and, accordingly, all the latter divines have been compelled to abandon to us all the "Fathers of the Church;" all the saints and great men who flourished as the lights of religion, and ornaments of humanity, are all now given up to us, as being full of "rank Popery."

An ignorant man (such as I believe you, Mr. Daly, to be) may not know the fact; but, if you are acquainted with Church history, even you cannot be so audacious as to deny that all the Fathers and ancient writers on Christianity, uniformly, and without exception, sustain (wherever they treat the subject) the belief of the Real Presence.

Thus, then, by the confession I will say of all parties, the belief of the Real Presence has existed since the days of the Apostles. Why do I say by the confession of all? Because all are reduced to silence, or made to expose their folly by proposing a simple question in plain terms. It is thus you say that the doctrine of the Real Presence has not subsisted in the Church since the days of the Apostles, but has been introduced subsequently. Very well. Now, pray tell me when it was introduced, and by whom, by name? This question has been one thousand times asked, but never answered satisfactorily. Some Protestants have, at first, met it directly, and they named the person and the time. But they were soon driven from the post so taken; for the moment any Protestant named a time as that in which this doctrine was introduced, or a person who introduced it, the moment the assertion was put in so tangible a shape, that instant the assertion was refuted, and the Catholics were able to show that the belief in the Real Presence existed prior to the time thus

designated, and to the person thus named. The conclusion is triumphant, that this doctrine must have been introduced by Christ and the Apostles, as it certainly has not been introduced since that time.

Every candid Protestant, who has sufficient leisure, should read upon this subject Arnauld's work, called "*Perpetuite de la Foi*." It should be read by every man who is capable of admiring the powers of human mind of the first order. It shows a depth of learning almost exceeding credibility, and a force of reasoning and of logical and precise argumentation which even an infidel could not fail to admire; and which ought, I think, carry conviction to every unbiassed and honest mind.

Parson Daly, I have, for the present, done with you. I have written this letter almost as rapidly as any person could read it through; and, although I have exhausted the patience of others, I have not exhausted myself on the subject.

There is, indeed, one topic more, on which I should have particularly wished to have met you. You have assailed my creed with ribaldry. I should like to have attacked your creed by argument; that is, if I could possibly discover what that creed is; if you have not made more scanty, the already scanty belief of the Established Church; if you have not thrown one or two more sacraments overboard, after the other five, which it pleased your saintly Reformers totally to annul, amidst their total abandonment of morality and utter contempt of good works; if you have not condemned the harmless rite of baptism (was it not so called, without reproof, in your presence?); if you have not gone beyond your Church, and reformed, as is the constant practice, every precedent reformation. If this be not so, and that you adhere to the tenets of the Church, "as by law" established, I should, I confess, like to attack, by some argument, its creed of shifts, and compromises, and contradictions. I should like to expose that most melancholy and deplorable system of asserting in Articles of Belief for the mature, and in Catechisms for the young, tenets

which are denied in your pulpits and contradicted by your individual instructions.

Finally, if I had time and opportunity, I think I would satisfy every rational man that, quite independently of the question, whether or not the doctrine of the Catholic Church be true, it is as morally impossible but that the Established Church must be false, as it is that contradictory propositions should co-exist, or that black and white should be one and the same colour.

I am sir, your obedient servant,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

FIRST LETTER TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

London, 4th April, 1833.

“ Far dearer the grave or the prison,
Illum'd by one patriot name,
Than the trophies of all who have risen
On liberty's ruins to fame!”

FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN—This is the first of a series of letters which I intend to publish on the present state and future prospects of our country, including the best suggestion I can give for regulating your conduct in the manner most calculated to mitigate the evils of the one and to insure the amelioration of the other.

Let it, however, be always recollected that the entire scope and object of my political life now is, to advance and secure the Repeal of the Legislative Union between these two countries, convinced as I am, in the deepest recesses of my conscience, that it is impossible—utterly impossible—to do any permanent or valuable service to Ireland until the restoration of her domestic Parliament.

This conviction has long been floating in my mind, but it is now fixed unalterably and for ever. The manner in which the Anglesey Algerine Bill was received by the British Legislature—the foolish, as well as false, allegation by which it was supported—the enormous majorities by which it was ultimately carried—the shouts of domination and triumph by which the advocates of Irish liberty were insulted, and the unsuppressed spirit of national hostility which guided and animated our enemies have taught me that it is worse than folly to imagine that the affairs of Ireland can be attended to with the requisite knowledge of facts and cordial sincerity of intention in any other than in an Irish Parliament.

I need not dwell on this point. I cannot describe with anything like accuracy the extent of the innate hatred of

Ireland which I have witnessed in many men since my last return to this country. They hate us—and without avowing it, even to themselves, they fear us. We must have a domestic Legislature, or we can never be safe in our properties, our lives, or our liberties.

Nay, more—I am thoroughly persuaded that the only way to prevent the final separation of the two countries is, to attach Ireland to the connection, 'by giving her the protection from insult and injury of a Parliament of her own.

It is, therefore, my sacred duty to exert every faculty of my mind to bring about that state of the public mind in Ireland, in which every good man will be ready to join with me in the Repeal of the Union, no matter what may be his party, his religion, his prejudice, or his resentments.

The Anglesey Algerine Act—so much worse than the Wellington Algerine Law—has left us no alternative. It silences for ever those who bid us look to the justice and humanity of the British Parliament; the day is gone by for cant and hypocrisy of that description. There does not live a knave so audacious as now to dare to talk of the kindness and care of British legislators for Ireland; and, if such a knave exists, there breathes not a single dolt so brutally stupid as to give even one moment's credence to his assertions.

Argument and reasoning are over. The inevitable conclusion is arrived at. Before the Repeal of the Union no good can be done for Ireland—until the Repeal of the Union Ireland can reap but little benefit from British connection. I repeat that those who oppose the Repeal are blindly and ignorantly, but not the less powerfully or certainly, driving towards separation.

To us, who are not at present separatists, and never will be so if we can help it—to us who honestly seek the restoration of Irish freedom and the establishment of Irish prosperity, but one duty—one great, all-absorbing duty—remains: it is peaceably and legally to effectuate the restoration of an Irish Parliament.

There is but one problem to be solved—that is, the mode of legally and peaceably accomplishing our objects. All we want to know is, the manner of doing the thing. The thing itself is inevitable—indeed, the “Anglesey Algerine Bill,” instead of retarding the progress of the Repeal, has to a demonstration greatly promoted its ultimate and most satisfactory success.

This demonstration I will take up a little later. For the present I content myself with some preliminary topics.

In the first place, it may be a matter of surprise to some that, with all the madness of slavery upon me, I should write with so much of cool calmness. To those persons I readily acknowledge, that an offence has been committed against all the great principles of the constitution, and against the people of Ireland, too deep to be forgotten, and too cruel to be ever forgiven.

The rankling wound caused by national injustice and Whig despotism (oh, the ever odious Whig!) is too excruciating ever to heal. Yet I am cool, and quiet, and deliberate; no bursts of passion sway my soul—no fervid epithets of execration burn in my description of individual venality, profligacy, or folly. No; I console myself, and I am consoled by the certainty that the great measure of national regeneration is advanced by the actions of our worst and most malignant enemies in every part of the British empire. Our friends, and the friends of liberty in Great Britain, are up in heart, courage, and generous sympathy; and the very measure which was intended to crush the agitation of the Repeal, actually makes the Repeal irresistible.

I return to the mode of procuring the Repeal—of procuring it peaceably and without violating any law.

Attend to me, my countrymen—attend to me; you have often listened to my voice and taken my counsel. I can once again proudly, because truly, repeat, that no man ever was sorry for observing my advice in political affairs. My object is now to show how we are to Repeal the Union.

It seems to me that there are these two preliminary measures necessary, before we can arrive at that state of moral and poli-

tical organization (under the now existing law) which is requisite in order to produce the Repeal in the only manner in which we seek it—that is, without crime and without blood.

The first of these measures is the suppression of “Whitefeet” outrages. I use the word because it is the last name assumed by the miscreant wretches who have in so many shapes, and for so many years, plundered various parts of Ireland in horrible crimes against property, and stained our country with the turpitude, the atrocity, and the demoniacal repetition of murder—crimes demanding the vengeance of man, and also bringing down the punishment of God.

Long and long since would Ireland have shaken off the yoke of her worst grievances, but that her friends are disheartened, disgusted, and almost silenced by reason of the commission of “Whitefeet” crimes, whilst every enemy of Ireland is strengthened and fortified by the natural and necessary consequences of that criminality.

The present Anglesey Gagging Bill could never have been introduced—base and worthless as the Whigs are, yet they never could have introduced the present despotic Bill, but for the colour and pretext afforded them by the atrocious murders of the villainous “Whitefeet.”

Our first concern, therefore, is to put down “Whitefeet” outrages. In that sentiment every patriotic Irishman concurs. I will in my future letters develop that organisation of the “Volunteers,” which, without violating the existing “Algerine” Law, must enable us to contribute effectually to terminate the predial crimes now called “Whitefeetism.”

In the meantime it is the duty of every honest Irishman to exert all his faculties and energies to put down “Whitefeetism.” Wherever any of us have influence let it be directed to this object. Let each of us in his own sphere redouble all former exertions to this effect—and, above all, let us impress on the mind of everybody within our reach the impossibility of ever giving freedom to Ireland whilst “Whitefeet” crimes contaminate, degrade, and weaken our native land.

The second preliminary is one of more easy attainment—it is to conciliate all classes and persuasions of Irishmen towards each other. I have the liveliest happiness in being able to state that the approximation of Irishmen—Protestants, Orangemen, and Catholics—towards each other is progressing with a rapidity which exceeds my expectations, and almost equals my ardent wishes for entire and universal conciliation. There are, to be sure, some who continue obdurate and prejudiced, but the number is daily diminishing ; and even in the north, the Orangemen are—many of them at least—beginning to perceive that, whilst as Protestants they have nothing to fear, they, as Irishmen, have everything to gain from the establishment of a domestic Legislature in Ireland.

Fellow-Countrymen—These are now your greatest and most paramount duties :—

First—To put down, now and for ever, Whitefeet crimes and outrages.

Second—To reconcile to each other, and to bury in eternal oblivion, the dissensions between Protestants, Catholics, and Orangemen, showing to all that they have a general, as well as an individual and equal interest in the regeneration of our now unhappy, impoverished, and, alas, most grossly insulted and oppressed country.

I now come to the most interesting part of my subject, the mode of continuing, without any violation of the “ Anglesey Gagging Bill,” our national exertions to procure the Repeal.

We must not violate the law. We must keep within the strict bounds of the statute. But we can, within these bounds, continue, and even extend, our peaceable exertions for the Repeal.

I know the spirit of Irish patriotism is still “ unfading and warm,” and so long as that spirit reigns paramount in the breasts of the honest men of Ireland, I will take care that it shall not want the mode, or the means, of working out the political salvation of the ever-loved, and lovely, land of our birth.

The Volunteers can aid, but they shall not be the only legal body to advance the interests and the rights of Ireland.

However, in order to understand fully the safety and security, as well as the utility of my plans for continuing wholesome agitation under the Algerine law, it is necessary that I should point out briefly some of the mischiefs which that law does *not* perpetrate.

Let it be recollected, that, in this letter, I am treating of the law in districts not proclaimed in a state of disturbance and outrage, that is, not Whitefeet districts.

In all other districts, save those contaminated by Whitefeet, the Algerine bill, as it left the Committee of the House of Commons, and was ultimately passed, has these circumstances of mitigation about it:—

First—It gives no power to the magistracy over meetings of any kind. Understand the magistrates have no authority whatsoever given them under this Act. A magistrate cannot prohibit or suppress any meeting under this Act. He is just where he was before this law was passed.

It is most important to observe this point, because it leaves all meetings, which are not prohibited by an express and notified proclamation of the Lord Lieutenant, precisely as legal as they have been hitherto.

It is indeed comfortable, amidst the gloom of discontent, naturally and necessarily created by this most unconstitutional law, to perceive this one gleam of consolation, that all parties in the House disclaimed the Irish magistracy as unfit to be intrusted with any additional powers. Except amongst the extreme Irish Tories this was the universal sentiment of the House. Accordingly, no additional power whatever is given to those unlauded animals, the Irish magistrates.

Secondly—No meeting can be rendered illegal under this Act until it has been proclaimed by the Lord Lieutenant, and that proclamation notified to the persons so meeting.

There are, therefore, under this Act, two ingredients necessary to make a patriotic meeting illegal. The first is a

proclamation by the Lord Lieutenant; the second is a notification of that proclamation to the persons intended to be affected by it.

This is clearly a great improvement in this Act over the "Wellington Algerine Act," and I must claim the merit, because I believe it to be mine, of suggesting this improvement.

It is, to be sure, melancholy and heartrending to think that notwithstanding this amendment yet the Lord Lieutenant may, under this most unconstitutional law, prohibit and render illegal, by his notified proclamation, the most useful, the most necessary, nay, the most charitable meeting of Irishmen.

It is, indeed, deplorable, beyond the powers of language to be obliged to confess, that a pseudo-reformed Parliament should have given such a power as this to any Lord Lieutenant; for example, to so unwise a person as Lord Anglesey. It is a power which no lover of liberty would give to the wisest and best of mankind; but the Parliament that gave it is—thank heaven!—sufficiently alien from Ireland.

Thirdly—The power of the Lord Lieutenant is confined to rendering a meeting illegal—observe "a meeting;" I say it emphatically. For example, the Lord Lieutenant may issue a proclamation to prohibit any meeting of the Volunteers. After such proclamation, any meetings of the Volunteers would be illegal, and none such will take place whilst this gagging Bill is law.

But the association of the Volunteers would not, and cannot, thus be rendered illegal. It will be no offence to continue to be a Volunteer, and so will every other member of that body be who does not actually resign. Indeed, I will always boast of being, and continuing, a Volunteer, until I see that body restored to their pristine honour and dignity by Act of Parliament, and empowered by law, to arm themselves and become the unpaid police of Ireland.

I repeat, therefore, that the proclamation of the Lord Lieutenant, will of course prevent the Volunteers from meet-

ing ; it will render a meeting of the Volunteers illegal ; but it will leave the association of the Volunteers as legal as they were before the Act ; and, although we do not meet in any assembly, we can co-operate as individuals ; we can direct and regulate our conduct by correspondence, especially 'through the newspapers, for we have not, and never will have, any secrets. Thus the Volunteers can, one and all, continue their exertions to elucidate the evils Ireland has incurred by, and from, the Union ; to keep alive the genial glow of patriotic ardour for the repeal of that most disastrous and fatal measure, and at the same time to use their best exertions to put down all predial outrages and crimes ; and, lastly, to conciliate and reconcile all classes of their fellow-countrymen, by burying in a generous oblivion all party feuds and religious dissensions amongst Irishmen.

Let my advice be attended to, and the Volunteers will again shine forth in Irish history. Let them obey the law and preserve themselves and their sacred cause for better times. To them is the deposit of Irish liberty especially commended. Let this be their watchword and their motto—

“Durate et vosmet rebus servate secundis.”

I will in this mode correspond with the Volunteers, and assist them to crush outrages and crimes, and to promote such rational arbitrations amongst the people as may keep them away from the petty and general sessions.

But these are no more than the outskirts of agitation. We must arrange, under the new state of affairs, our future plan for as general a combination as possible, to attain, by legal and constitutional means, a redress of Irish grievances.

It will be my business to bring that plan before the public. I will, in these, my public letters, in order to vindicate the confidence the Volunteers have reposed in me, point out the modes by which the people may be kept from despair, and the enemies of the people prevented from exasperating suffering millions into madness and insurrection.

We must teach the people the paths of peace which alone can conduct them to prosperity and liberty.

I proceed to open my plan for the liberation of Ireland from her present thralldom, and for the restoration of her domestic legislature.

The first element, and the leading principle of that plan is, the proper use of the Elective Franchise.

This is my first position. It is absolutely necessary that the people of Ireland should render the elective franchise as available as possible.

The first step in the new agitation is to organise the elective franchise in every county, city, town, and borough in Ireland.

This species of agitation has these two great recommendations. First—It is perfectly safe. Secondly—It must be eminently useful.

It may be said that we are only in the beginning of a Parliament, and therefore the advantages to be derived from the organization of the elective franchise are remote.

This is not so. There never was a Parliament so likely to be short as the present.

In the first place, the age of the King, and the precarious state of his health—matters to be spoken of with respect and regret—enter as ingredients in our calculation of the duration of this Parliament.

In the second place, the disconnected and heterogeneous materials of which the present ministry are composed, render it next to impossible that they should remain long in office. I anticipate the dissolution of the present ministry, even before the end of the present session.

In the next place, the total abandonment by the present ministry of their old principles; the trampling under foot of all those principles in the Irish Despotism Bill; their sacrifice of the trial by jury, the palladium of the safety and liberty of Englishmen; their sacrifice of the last resource of the wretched the right to complain; their sweeping indemnity to the military,

and subjecting them to no other punishment save by courts-martial ; these, the leading features of the Irish Despotism Bill, sink deeply into the minds of the thinking and reasoning part of the British community, and are silently but rapidly producing such sentiments of disgust and abhorrence of the present ministry in the public mind of this country, that it is not possible they should continue long in office.

Add to this, that this ministry has done nothing ; is doing nothing ; promises nothing to the suffering and overburdened people of England, who were led to expect confidently great relief from the Reform Bill, and are now getting none at all.

But the faults of this ministry are not merely of a negative quality. They have committed actual errors, which the people of England call crimes ; they have refused an inquiry into the distress of the people. They have refused an inquiry into the practicability of a plan to relieve productive industry from taxation, by placing taxation upon property alone. They have determined to continue naval and military sinecures ; and, lastly, they have totally refused to abolish flogging in the army.

They are the doings of a reforming ministry in the first session of a Reformed Parliament. Well may the people of England ask, "If these things be done in the green wood, what will be done in the dry ?"

Believe me, this ministry cannot stand. They will shrink out of office, amidst the shouts of indignation of all parties. This ministry must soon be dissolved. It is impossible to go back to Toryism. We are one hundred years, as years reckon in political life, beyond the possible restoration of Toryism. Let us, then, be prepared for the event. The dissolution of this ministry necessarily leads to the dissolution of the Parliament.

Let us, then, and from this moment, prepare for that event.

This is my first step in the new agitation. I must be the prime agitator myself. Without co-operation, it is, of course, evident that I should be powerless ; but, with the aid of a few honest and active men in each locality, the people can, and shall

be ready for a new election—to promote their friends and to punish their enemies.

I think I may pledge myself that I will openly and in the face of the day, organise this “agitation,” without any infringement of the “Algerine Act.” My second letter shall be devoted to the details of my plan; and I, beforehand, invite criticism and remark, friendly or unfriendly. I will weigh well every objection, and yield to those which appear to me to be supported with good reasons or incapable of being obviated.

The conduct of the Irish members, during the discussions on the Gagging Bill, is fresh in every recollection. There has been a faithful band, true to their every engagement and pledge. There have been instances of violation of every duty, which serve to degrade our very nature, that there should have been found human beings capable of such conduct. All these we will weigh in our coolest moments, when irritation has gone by, and when we can calmly calculate the crime that has been committed, and the political punishment which ought to follow.

My first step is, therefore, to organise the means of serving and sustaining friends, and of flinging off enemies.

Let us, then, begin the new agitation with the organisation of the elective franchise. It will require from me minuteness of detail and great perseverance. I promise to bring both to the task.

My next letter will develop those details. In the meantime, the patriotic men who intend to co-operate with me, will commence by procuring an accurate knowledge of the state of the registry in their respective parishes and baronies.

For the present, I say no more on this subject, save this, that I begin with a subject quite safe and more useful. I am convinced I shall receive abundant assistance.

I cannot conclude this my first letter to the people of Ireland, enslaved as they are, by the first Act of a Reformed Parliament, without making a passing remark on more recent events. It is true that we have got rid of Stanley, who was, at least, consistent in his opinions; but, then, we have got

Hobhouse, who has been a ferocious patriot, and is now a complaisant placeman. I do not know that Ireland can have gained much by the change. Hobhouse, however, has one consolation; he cannot possibly be worse to Ireland than Stanley.

I am induced to think the less favourably of Hobhouse, from his speech at the hustings. It is attributed to him, to have been guilty of the inconceivable absurdity of making these two assertions:—

First—"That the Irish people would, within three months, discover that this Bill (meaning the Despotism Bill) was for their good."

There is a profound statesman for you—for our good; to deprive us of the very first principles of the Constitution! For our good. Poor man! What a wretched exhibition of that species of vulgar assumption of the superiority of the English over Irish intellect does this assertion exhibit. Poor man! For our good; aye, just as the slave-driver in the West Indies uses the lash on the bare back of the expiring negro—for his good.

The second assertion was—"That, within the same three months, he would so redress Irish grievances, as to be the most popular man in that country."

See what an adequate idea he has of his own powers on the one hand, and of the effects of seven centuries of misgovernment on the other. What a heaven-born statesman we have got amongst us! Within three months, surrounded by Tories, Conservatives, monopolists, and the Attorney-General; having, in addition, Lord Anglesey to manage, and Lord Plunket to satisfy, he is to work miracles of conciliation and kindness by the light of his sweet and gracious countenance. Well done, little Cam!!! as Cobbet calls him. Now, I have as good a right to become "Pastorini" as little Cam has; and I venture to prophesy, that Ireland will not derive any one benefit, or date any one advantage from the secretaryship of Sir John Cam Hobhouse.

But, when the interests of a great nation—its liberties and its prosperity are at stake ; when a generous and long-oppressed people, instead of a relief, are afforded only Algerine Acts and Gaggling Bills, it is unpardonable to consume time in commenting on the flies that are whirled round on the wheels of the State-machine, although those flies should imagine that it was they that turned the wheel which merely carries them round.

For the present, I conclude with the repetition of my oft-given advice to the people : No riot ; no violence ; no crime. But, above all things, no despair. We are eight millions !

I am, and ever shall be, fellow-countrymen,

Your devoted, faithful servant,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

SECOND LETTER TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

London, 12th April, 1833.

“Wert thou all that I wish thee—great, glorious and free,
First flower of the earth, and first gem of the sea,
I might hail thee with prouder, with happier brow,
But, oh ! could I love thee more deeply than now ?”

FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN—I return to the pleasing task of communing with you again. I return to that which the last Algerine act has made an imperative duty—the cheering you during this, the last night of your bondage, and pointing out to you that amidst the dark hour of unmerited slavery which surrounds you, there are to be seen some of the white streaks of the coming light, which promises, with unerring certainty, a morning of mild brightness, and a noontide of effulgent brilliancy. Yes, we shall—we must bask yet in the full glow of national liberty, and that fervid day-star of freedom, which in other countries has so often scorched into sterility will, in Ireland, shed only genial warmth to invigorate, extend, and mature the full crop of Irish prosperity.

The present Algerine law will, as I not only hope but believe, prove the last act of British injustice towards Ireland. The strange precipitancy with which Lord Anglesey has commenced the exercise of the despotic authority committed to him by this law, excites no small astonishment in this country, where his real characteristics are unknown. It was asserted in both Houses of Parliament, and believed by many that “the Despotism Bill” would be a mere dead letter, held out only as *terrorem*, but never to be carried into practice.

We knew better—we knew Lord Anglesey better. We knew how his pride had been wounded and his vanity mortified, by the overwhelming unpopularity with which the people of Ireland justly rewarded his unfortunate Government. We recollect the old proverb, “Set a beggar on horseback and he will

ride to ——” The rest is familiar. Yes; “The political beggar” has been set on horseback and off he goes. But he has actually proclaimed the city of Kilkenny—the city of Kilkenny!!! He is, indeed, on horseback—and on the backs and faces of the Irish people, too—for I defy any man to give me a justifiable reason or even pretext, for proclaiming the city of Kilkenny. There were no disturbances—no outrages in the city. Oh, this proclamation speaks more powerfully to the people of England, of the folly and injustice of continuing this law than could one thousand regular speeches, or any theoretic arguments whatsoever.

The law must be repealed. The unwise Anglesey must be recalled. Events are crowding upon us—and amongst them is to be found more than hope for Ireland.

Europe is threatened with war—that is one. We are eight millions—that is another. We require no third. Let the people only remember the advice contained in our motto—“*Durate, et vosmet rebus servate secundis.*” The period of this last trial will soon pass away. Even the excesses committed under the “Despotism Bill” will hasten the time when despotism itself will be impossible in Ireland.

I thus briefly notice the audacious measure of outlawing the city of Kilkenny, as one of those which brings with it a salutary reaction. I proceed to the more immediate object of this my second letter.

That object is, the organization of the elective franchise in every county, city, town, and borough in Ireland.

Let it be recollected that my first duty—as concentrating in myself, during the present calamitous suspension of the common law to the powers of the Volunteers of Ireland—is to put the elective franchise in such a stage that the people shall command the return of really honest men to Parliament. This is my first duty; and this letter was intended, principally, to commence the development of my plan, for this purpose—a purpose which, in the present state of the political movement,

not only in these countries but all over Europe, tends directly to the establishment of constitutional freedom.

But I am interrupted. Another proclamation!!! Yes, I rejoice to see the glorious name of the Irish Volunteers so honoured with being the first in the enmity of the legal autocrat of Ireland. Honour also the mighty Pasha!—to the extent to which it is deserved. This is also another boon from Earl Grey's ministry. This is another favour from the British Parliament. Let this proclamation be kept among the records of Irish grievances for the day of legal and constitutional retribution—a day which I believe to be more near than “the million” imagine.

I beg leave thus to return my most cordial thanks, in the name of injured Ireland, to the Volunteers for having continued to meet until this proclamation issued. They will, of course, obey this proclamation—but they did well and wisely to assert the natural freedom of British subjects on their part, and to leave it to the dispensers of despotism to exert the powers of arbitrary and most unconstitutional law on the other part.

This is now part of history—part of Irish history. It stands amongst those annals which tell of England's injustice and of Ireland's sufferings during seven centuries of shame and sorrow. Let us treasure it, then, in our inmost souls, amidst those spirit-stirring incitements to persevere in the paths of peace, and in the absence of crime, but energetically and incessantly, until we attain the sole safeguard of Irish prosperity and Irish freedom—a domestic legislature.

This digression, however natural, has led me from the more immediate object of this letter—the organization of the elective franchise—and tempts me, before I proceed further with that object, to introduce one or two topics of a more pressing and immediate interest. The “elective franchise” can afford a little postponement, and the other topics require speedy attention, in order to tranquillize the public mind upon them.

The first relates to the “pensioning” by the State of the Catholic clergy.

The second—" *longo intercallo* "—relates to the reform of the corporations of Ireland, but in particular of the Corporation of Dublin.

With respect to the first—"The State pensioning" of the Catholic clergy—it can be despatched in a few words, notwithstanding its awful importance to the liberties and to the religion of the people of Ireland.

I therefore simply announce the certainty that there is no danger of any such proposal being brought forward at present—not the most remote. Every person anxious on this subject either from a love of freedom, or from the more serious and solemn respect to religion, may rest in perfect tranquillity. Exclusive of the unalterable confidence reposed in the integrity of the Catholic prelates, there is this additional reason to being secure, that the Cabinet has never agreed even to deliberate upon any such provision.

Let me not be misunderstood. I do not mean to deny that hints of such a provision being in contemplation were thrown out by certain individuals connected with the Government in Ireland. I believe they were—but I also believe that those hints were received with so decided and at the same time so quiet a tone of rejection that even if the measure itself had been resolved on by the Cabinet it would have been abandoned.

So far, indeed, from there being any Cabinet scheme of that description, I do not for the present, see the possibility of bringing forward with any chance of success my favourite plan—a plan I can never lose sight of—that is to obtain the legal means "of securing in perpetual succession for each Popish priest in Ireland a manse, or parochial residence, and a suitable glebe." This plan of mine does not involve any public burden or any connection whatsoever between the Catholic clergy and the State.

The second topic upon which the public mind of the people of Dublin requires to be tranquillized relates to the approaching measures of corporate reform.

As I cannot have the pleasure of meeting my constituents

until the close of the session, I cannot sooner explain to them in person the real state of the question of reform in the Corporation. But the moment the session closes I will repair to Dublin, whatever may then be the state of the law, and canvass all the details of that measure, as applicable to the citizens of Dublin. In the meantime, I perceive that very gross misapprehension exists on this subject, and that some of those whom I am exceedingly anxious to serve, imagine that their interests are in danger of being forgotten. I therefore proceed to detail the existing state of the facts and the embryo plan for the reform of the Dublin Corporation. I call it the "embryo" plan because it is no more at present; and before it has assumed form and consistency, my constituents shall have ample opportunity to consider all its details and to remedy its defects.

The facts, as they exist, are these: evidence has been received by the Committee of the House of Commons of the actual state of the Corporation of Dublin. The witnesses were principally members of the Corporation itself—but Mr. Serjeant Perrin, Mr. M. Maley, and Mr. Staines have added some very useful information.

I do not feel myself at liberty to go into the details of the evidence—nor is it necessary. Everybody acquainted with Dublin must know that it is not possible to conceal the facts:

First—That the Corporation of Dublin is a monopoly, even amongst the Protestant inhabitants of that city.

Second—That it is a bigoted monopoly, exclusive in its nature and essence; and to the almost incredible extent of bigotry, that during more than forty years it has not admitted one single Catholic.

Third—That the Corporation of Dublin is thus a double monopoly—first, politically; second, religiously.

Fourth—That this double monopoly is rendered at one and the same time more oppressive and dangerous by its having the appointment of the sheriffs by whom the panels of juries for the superior courts of law in Ireland are made out, and the presenting grand juries nominated.

Fifth—That the local taxation, and the demand and exaction of various emoluments are all in the hands of this odious monopoly.

Sixth—The local courts of justice also belong to this monopoly. Courts of justice—if that be the right term—in which the poorest and most unprotected classes are most interested.

Seventh—That there is the closest connection between this monopoly and the police of the metropolis.

Eighth—That practical bigotry has been carried to this frightful extent that actual pledges of a bigoted principle have been exacted, and may be exacted, from the candidates for the office which, of all others, requires the purest impartiality—that of high sheriffs.

Ninth—That the rights of the minor guilds have been trodden under foot and practically extinguished, and the statute law violated and set at defiance by the existing Corporation.

It will be thus seen, without entering into further details, that if ever a case was made out for reform this is one. It was, indeed, hoped by some persons connected with the Government that the corporators themselves would see the inevitable necessity for remodelling the Corporation, and thus that a Bill might be brought in during the present session for this purpose.

If I could have found, or could still find, a spirit of reasonable concession amongst the corporators, I was and am prepared to meet it half way, or more than half way, and lend my best assistance to prevent the reform from injuring either private individuals or families, or the creditors of the Corporation, as far as I possibly could. But I am sorry to say that I do not perceive any such spirit, and I am therefore prevented from rescuing private families, and, I fear, the creditors of the Corporation from those inconveniences, if not, to speak out, from the ruin which I fear is impending. Let me not be blamed hereafter. I give this solemn and public warning to all the persons who are in the employment of the Corporation, and to their families. I also warn those to whom the Corporation may be indebted. Much may be done for all these parties, if they will come for-

ward at once and insist upon the monopoly party yielding to common decency, and forming a committee empowered to arrange the remodelling of the Corporation, so as to satisfy the citizens at large in such a manner as will do the least possible injury to what may be called—but I must say most untruly called—vested interests.

I am particularly anxious that every person who has a pecuniary interest in the existing state of the Dublin Corporation should understand the precise predicament in which he is placed.

A speedy, that is, an immediate amicable arrangement may be made, which would afford much protection to persons who, I believe, will suffer severely from a sweeping and severe reform—such a reform as must inevitably take place unless my advice be attended to without delay.

I know, by sad experience, that those for whose benefit this advice is intended will pay but little attention to it. My consolation is, that I will have hereafter to refer to it when individual distress will call upon me for that assistance which I could now, but will not then, be able to afford.

Having dismissed those whose sufferings I shall regret, but whom I cannot compel or, I fear, persuade to attend to themselves in time, I proceed to develop the plan for the reform of the Dublin Corporation.

This is the plan as at present suggested :—

The Corporation to be constituted, as at present, of one Lord Mayor.

Twenty-four aldermen.

In all twenty-five aldermen—the present number.

Ninety-six common councilmen, as at present, not including sheriffs' peers.

The aldermen to be elected, as in London, by wards.

For this purpose the city of Dublin to be divided into eight wards.

Each ward, by rotation, to return four aldermen, and each in its turn to have the nomination of a fifth.

The first election of aldermen to take place within six months after the passing of the Bill.

The aldermen to be elected for a term of six years.

Each ward to elect eight members of the common council. This will make sixty-four.

The Guild of Merchants to elect also eight common councilmen. This will bring up the number to seventy-two.

Then each of the other guilds, being twenty-four in number, to elect one member. The twenty-four thus elected, when added to the seventy-two, will make up the number of ninety-six common councilmen, in addition to which will be the senior sheriffs' peers, not exceeding thirty in all the whole.

The Lord Mayor to be elected from the aldermen annually upon the city of London plan.

The sheriffs to be elected annually from the common council. In every other respect the plan of election to be as in the city of London—that is, perfectly popular.

The common council to be elected for three years, as at present.

The electors in the wards to be the ten pound householders.

The guilds to be composed, according to their charters, of persons of the trade of each guild and none other.

The Guild of Merchants to be composed exclusively of merchants resident in Dublin, or, at least, having counting-houses in the city.

Each other guild to be composed of men of the trade. No other right of admission into the minor guilds but an apprenticeship of seven years; but such an apprenticeship to give an absolute right to the freedom.

It will be objected that by this plan the members of the minor guilds will have the double advantage of having double votes—first as ten pound householders in their respective wards; and, secondly, as freemen in their respective guilds; and it is true that many, but by no means all, the regular tradesmen will have this advantage; but as all the householders of the

wards equally contribute to elect the ward member, the right should not be taken away from the tradesmen, the more especially as in their own guilds they can have but one representative for each guild.

I have thus given the outline of a plan which would, in my opinion, make the Corporation of Dublin identical with its citizens, and restore to the citizens the rights which have been filched from them by the monopolists who have reduced the Corporation to its present unjust and illegal state.

Upon this plan I solicit criticism and remark. But I always detest anonymous writers, and, indeed, despise them. I cannot bring myself to place sufficient reliance, even on sensible remarks, made by persons who shrink from giving their names.

I solicit this criticism through two channels—first, through the columns of the *Pilot*, and, secondly, through my friend and secretary, the most invaluable and ill-requested servant of the public, Mr. Edward Dwyer. I am proud to announce that he has consented to act as my individual secretary during the continuance of the despotic law and the reign of the chiefs of the Irish pashalics. Until the dominion of the old law is restored in Ireland, any communication for me may be best addressed to my excellent friend, Mr. Secretary Dwyer, or published with real signatures in the *Pilot*, which I request to give space for such insertion.

If such a reform as I have suggested had taken place, we should then have a Corporation, competent and willing to look into all the frauds committed on the property which ought of right to belong to the citizens for civic purposes, and where the fraud was of too complicated a nature to be unravelled in a Court of Equity; or, if the expense and delay of that Court were too great, the reformed Corporation would be enabled to apply for, and obtain, legislative relief by an Act of Parliament, which would cut the knot of every difficulty, and restore to the citizens all they have been unjustly deprived or swindled out of by means of long continued monopoly. The Metal Main question and the Pipe-water tax would soon be set at rest by

such a reformed Corporation. In short it would contain in itself the power to set to rights all local and municipal grievances, and to punish delinquents and civic plunderers; and the popular control over the Corporate authorities would put that power into rapid motion.

I close this digression with once more assuring my constituents that no step will be taken in this reform without giving them ample time to consider its every detail, to detect errors, correct inaccuracies, suggest improvements, and render the whole as suited as it is practicable to the wants and wishes of the citizens at large, of every class, sect, and persuasion without partiality or unjust disfavour to any class, creed, or individual. Equal rights and equal justice to all, is the sole basis of my plan.

This letter has run into too great length to enable me to return with any effect this day to the "elective franchise." I can for the present do no more than to request that gentlemen willing to work with me for the regeneration of Ireland, will aid me in the following manner:—

First—By sending to Mr. Dwyer, or publishing in the *Pilot*, a list of the baronies in each county.

Second—By, in like manner, sending the name and address of an individual likely to take upon himself the trouble of attending to the franchise in that barony.

We will not interfere with any proclaimed county.

Let me thus have, in the first instance, the baronies of the county of Dublin, and an individual named who will attend to the registry in each barony.

Let me, in the like manner, have the name of each parish in the city of Dublin, and an individual named in each parish willing to look after the registry in that parish.

I must conclude for the present. I am only beginning to break the ground for future constitutional exertions. Ireland shall never again slumber in the oblivious grave of unavailing discontent. We are too enlightened and too strong to sleep in the silence of despair.

We are, it is true, at present a pitiful province; it is but for a passing moment. We will be a great nation, bound to England only by the golden link of the crown, but nationalised and protected by the popular majesty of our own legislature.

I cannot conclude, however, without once again pouring out the vial of my deepest execration of the crimes of the Whitefeet. How ardently do I hope that they will meet due, and, therefore, most severe punishment.

The Whitefeet alone stand between Ireland and constitutional freedom. Let every man aid to bring them to condign punishment. Let there be no riot, no outrage, no violation of the law, and above all, no despair. We are eight millions.

I have the honour to be, fellow-countrymen,

Your very faithful friend and servant,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

THIRD LETTER TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

(From the Morning Register, Dublin, May 11, 1833.)

The *True Sun* has published a letter from Mr. O'Connell which no Irish popular journal dare insert without mutilation. It animadverts, in strong and indignant language, upon the prosecutions commenced against the Press, and thus proceeds:—

In this state of things it is that I once again address my fellow-countrymen. There is one consolation—the ministry who introduced and procured the Algerine law for Ireland have lost all their moral weight and moral power of character. They no longer delude any portion of the English people. They have some partizans—selfish expectants and placemen—enjoying either the sweets and profits or the pleasing prospect of office—but they have not one friend, or if they have, that friendship has reduced the character of their friend, whoever he be, to the wretched level of their own.

The present ministry are known—more is not necessary; it is idle to dwell on their inconsistency, their fatuity, their wretched financial and political blundering. They have made them become a laughing-stock and a scorn—they cannot remain long in office—and then, and then, perhaps, the days of impeachment, long disused and almost forgotten, may be revived.

In the meantime, I again address you, fellow-countrymen, on the interesting subject of preparation for the ensuing elections. They may be, and I believe are more near than persons in general suppose. But, at all events, recollect that wise men prepare themselves for action whilst there is time, and that opportunity remains. The fool waits always until it is too late, and so is undone.

There never was a period in history in which it was so necessary for honest men to prepare the franchise so as to be ready to elect better men. Let every county, city, town and borough in Great Britain and Ireland, from this moment, commence preparations for sending adrift the base men in each of these counties

who have betrayed and deceived their constituents. There has been a very base desertion of principle in many instances in England, several in Scotland, and still more in Ireland. In plain truth, there never was an occasion on which the conduct of members of Parliament should be watched with more vigilance and severity.

My plan, you are aware, fellow-countrymen, is to take up each county in Ireland in detail, and to create an electoral organization in each which will render it difficult in any, and impossible in most, for a bad man to get into another Parliament. Should I receive encouragement, I will visit during the vacation after this session many places in England. At all events, I will pay such visits to Ireland, and exert every faculty of my mind to make such preparations for the next Parliamentary campaign as will free us from the servile and the interested, and give us at length a majority of really honest representatives.

This is everybody's business—but as such it is apt to be neglected, until it be too late. I, for one, will stimulate others by example as well as by my exhortations, to exert themselves so as to command the election of honest and active men.

My first object is the county of Dublin. There are nine baronies in that county—I desire to organize the elective force in each of them; I want one or two more to assist me in each of these baronies. I trust I shall be replied to, either by letter to my friend Mr. Edward Dwyer, or preferably by public letters in the *Register*, or *Freeman*, or *Pilot*. Let me have one or two for the barony of Uppercross, a like number for the barony of Nethercross, so for Newcastle, so for Balrothery, a like number for Rathdown. I put forward these five baronies by name in this letter. I hope I shall be answered promptly, and that as well for these as for the other four baronies. I cannot go forward to any other county until the county of Dublin is placed in such a state that every person having any title to vote shall be placed on the registry, and the total force, in the popular interests, shall be ascertained.

The interruption I have met with in executing this plan makes me only the more desirous to carry it into execution all over Ireland.

I pledge myself that it shall not be my fault unless it be fully and effectually executed. We want vigilant and honest men in Parliament—men who will aid the “faithful few” in endeavouring to obtain justice for the people of England as well as for their own countrymen—who would sympathise with the people of England in their sufferings, unite with them in their exertions to obtain the amelioration of their institutions and the diminution of their burdens. Let the popular members for Ireland give their best assistance to the English people to abate every monopoly, to correct every abuse, to encourage industry, to promote manufactures, to lessen taxation, to increase the national resources, and to promote the freedom and prosperity of persons of every creed, caste, colour, and country.

This is what I now desire to effectuate. It is to combine the friends of liberty in England, Ireland, and Scotland in one common cause for the good of the people of every part of the empire. The Whigs and Tories have combined against the people. Upon every occasion upon which the honest and disinterested men in the House of Commons call for the abolition of useless offices, the reduction of expensive and unnecessary establishments, or the extinction of burdensome and oppressive taxation, we are met and defeated. How? Why, by a combination of Whigs and Tories—by the junction of the speculators and oppressors who belonged to the last Administration, with the speculators and oppressors of this Administration. This unholy alliance overpowers us, and the people get no relief. The friends of the people should therefore form, as it were, a species of sacred league, and combine all their exertions and all their numbers to the promotion of the popular cause of free institutions and cheap Government.

The Irish nation is particularly interested that there should be a combination of this description. Ireland has, alas! few friends in the House of Commons, and I grieve to say that there

are some of those who worked their way into that House by the unequivocal professions and pledges of patriotism, who are to be found, as Curran described it, "sleeping in their collars under the ministerial manger," when they should be up and working for Ireland.

In my next and ensuing letters, whilst I pursue my plan of elective organization, I will at the same time point out to each constituency the contrast or consistency of the votes of each Irish member with the promises and pledges which they gave expressly or by implication, to their constituents. I sigh bitterly to perceive that the Tory members have been in all things consistent in their hostility, whilst the popular, and some Repeal members have displayed the most melancholy dereliction of duty, of truth, and of principle. More of this subject hereafter.

The present ministers have promised much to Ireland. It was said that all they wanted was time. "Wait a while" was the cry of ministerial sycophants—"wait a while" and you will see the great things the Whigs will do for Ireland.

Well, they have now been in office since the 20th of November, 1830—two long years and a-half. What have they done for Ireland? Just nothing. What have they left undone against Ireland?

The base Whigs!

They have wrought a Grand Jury Bill; and there were abuses in the grand jury system. Are more abuses corrected by the Whig Bill? Alas! we have now been in committee on that Bill several weeks, and I can safely assure the Irish public that, by the confession of everybody, the bill is utterly worthless—it will do nothing to remedy abuses; but, if it passes at all, it will increase Government patronage extensively. There is a Whig reform for you. It does nothing for the public, or in ease of the people, but it increases Whig patronage considerably.

The base Whigs!

Yet there is still some comfort. The Whigs have treated the people of England almost as contemptuously as the people of Ireland. The former are beginning to arouse themselves.

The Whigs must yield; and a day of popular triumph may be a day of justice to both countries. I trust and hope that the hours of despotism are numbered, and that we shall soon see a Parliament and a ministry devoted to the people, and determined to conciliate Ireland by prompt and extensive relief.

In the meantime our course is clear. We will execrate, as we have ever done, the outrages of the "Whitefeet," and rejoice at their extinction; but, whilst we sedulously keep within the limits of the law and of the constitution, we will not forget that we are eight millions.

I have the honour to be, fellow-countrymen,

Your devoted servant,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

FIRST LETTER TO HIS CONSTITUENTS.

Derrynane Abbey, September 11th, 1833.

“For freedom’s battle once begun,
Bequeathed by bleeding sire to son,
Though baffled oft, is ever won.”

The session is closed, the second proclamation of the ministry, called by courtesy a King’s Speech, has appeared—legislation, wholesale and retail, is at an end for the present—the subservient minions of ministerial influence have been sent home with the sound of vain boasting—Ireland has been once more subdued!—positively for the last time of subduing. Curse the slaves that would not spare us that insult; but British insolence has been once again cheered by the voice which has once more but vainly boasted of Irish subjugation.

There is, however, one consolation. Never yet did there appear so poor and so proud a piece of vain boasting as that “King’s Speech”—it is impossible to treat it with all the contempt it merits—it sinks beneath the dignity of vituperation, and is readily confined to the manufactory whence it sprung; a plagiary—a flat plagiary, extracted from the brain of one of the hired puffers of Warren’s jet blacking—it covers with ridicule those it praises, and gives a triumph to the objects of its futile attack.

The time for legislation is over—the hour for reflection is come. It is the duty of every honest representative to offer himself and his conduct to the scrutinizing examination of his constituents; it is the sacred duty of every intelligent constituency to examine scrupulously the conduct of their representatives.

I accordingly come before the electors of the city of Dublin—I challenge and demand the closest examination. I add without affectation, that if my constituents are dissatisfied with my conduct I am ready to resign. I will put the matter on a

distinct and tangible footing. Near five thousand electors of the city of Dublin voted for me at the last election; if there can be found one-fifth of these voters who call on me to resign, I will instantly obey that call, and cease to be your representative.

I have not made this offer from consciousness of having deserved your censure. I know not any charge against which I could find it necessary to defend myself. On the contrary, I feel it due to myself, as well as to you, to assert, that I have served you faithfully, disinterestedly, and honestly; and, if I have not served you more efficiently, the defect was occasioned by my want of capacity, not from any want of inclination, of zeal, or of industry.

I stand before you, my constituents, with a firm and perhaps a proud conviction of having performed my duty at least with fidelity, and I enter into an investigation of many of the topics connected with Ireland, upon which my Parliamentary labours have been exerted, with a feeling free from self-reproach, and even with some of the vanity which excites to boasting. This feeling is the more naturally indulged, because I trust, with the assistance of God, that a career of further utility is just opened, and that there is a prospect of yet really and substantially serving Ireland. Besides, I respectfully claim the confidence of my constituents, and in doing so, I am bound to state the grounds on which I rest that claim.

Let this serve for my apology. I am a public servant rendering an account of my stewardship, and it is my duty to bring forward the items of that account, for which I require credit as between me and my constituents. Whatever there be odious in self-exaltation should not be applied to the case of a man circumstanced as I am, who is quite conscious that he was bound by the most sacred duties to perform ten times more than he has done, and who writes with a full conviction that after all he is but an unprofitable servant.

It also seems to me that I should vindicate you, electors of Dublin, to the Irish nation, for having elected me, as you did,

not only without any solicitation on my part, but actually without having obtained my consent to be a candidate. In thus vindicating you I am naturally led to a portion of my conduct in Parliament, which preceded your choice of me, and which, therefore, served to authorise that choice. I am bound to go into lengthened details, and I do so the more readily, because the investigation of them naturally tends to further improvement, and points out the means of securing further or other success.

It is in this view that I begin with one of the first class of my Parliamentary clients—one of the first in whose behalf I had the happiness to be an humble but a zealous instrument of relief. I am not detracting from the merits of others whilst I claim my share, and only my individual share, of the struggle which produced salutary changes. My first claim for conduct is my conduct towards—

The Leather Trade of Dublin.

When I first became the Parliamentary advocate of the tanners and curriers of Dublin, and of Ireland generally, their trade was in the lowest state of depression. The pressure of a heavy tax exhausted the capital of the manufacturers, and diminished consumption. But the vexatious and perpetual interference of the excise laws—the harassing villainy of many of the excise officers—the impossibility of escaping some of the multitudinous meshes of the excise regulations—the power to expose to fines and penalties that the workmen had over their employers, and the outrageous expenses of legal proceedings, had brought the leather trade to the lowest ebb of distress and approaching ruin. Failures multiplied in the trade, and there was no possibility of amelioration without a total change of system.

It was under those circumstances that I felt it my duty to acquire full information of the mischiefs that threatened destruction to the leather trade. It was under those circumstances that I became one of the most active of those who

pressed the state of trade on the Parliament and the then ministry, and who rejoiced at having persuaded that ministry to abolish the tax upon leather, and, above all, to relieve the manufacturers from the vexation of the excise.

I can look with complacency on the comparison between the present highly improved state of the leather trade, giving employment to increased numbers, and affording a due reward to skill, industry, and capital, and what that trade was when first I became its humble advocate. I merely claim my share, whatever it be, in the merit of producing this transition.

My next claim is found on the state of—

The Soap Trade of Dublin.

Twelve months have not elapsed since the soap trade of Ireland was suffering from a very different but an equally injurious oppression, to that which weighed down the trade in leather. The evil arose from that which was most likely to produce mischief in Ireland, namely, that there was no tax, and, of course, no excise, on the manufacture of soap in Ireland, and that there were both one and the other in England. One would imagine that such a state of things must be favourable to Ireland, but those who think so, know nothing of the workings of the Union in its more minute details. The Irish soap-boilers discovered that secret to their cost, and nearly to their ruin. The English duty on soap was intended to be confined to the quantity used in England. There was, therefore, as a matter of course, a drawback on all soap exported. Here the fraud began, and was easily, and I verily believe by the collusion of many excise officers, carried to a vast extent. The English manufacturers obtained, without difficulty, a larger sum for drawback than they paid for duty, and this to an extent varying from 15 to 25 per cent. In other words, there was a clear profit of, at the very least, 15 per cent., not on the article itself, but upon the mere duty. This was enhanced in several towns, as, for example, in Liverpool, where, as one would naturally expect in a place where the grossest political and municipal

corruption prevails, the greatest frauds were committed. In Liverpool, a soap manufacturer contrived not only to make a profit of at least 15 per cent. on the money he paid for duty, but actually acquired capital to carry on his trade out of the public money. Thus—he exported his soap to Dublin the day after it was made; in two days after he was paid the entire duty as a drawback, but he was not called on for that duty himself for sixty-one days. Suppose he made soap on a Thursday, the duty on which amounted to £100; on Friday he sent that soap by one of the steam vessels to Dublin. The ensuing Monday he received at the Custom-house in Liverpool £115 as drawback; but he had not to pay £100 for sixty-one days—putting by this means £115 of the public money into his pocket, keeping £15 of it altogether, and returning the remaining £100 in two months—of course carrying on his trade with the money in the interval. The consequences were almost total ruin to the Irish soap manufacturers. The English soap could be, and was, sold much cheaper than the Irish in the Irish market. We lost our home market for soap—we lost all power of competition in the foreign market—our soap manufacturers were reduced to despondency—the trade was about to be annihilated in Ireland. Who is it that does not see that it would have been impossible to have produced such a state of things, if we were protected by domestic legislature against such glaring fraud? and we must inevitably have been so protected by an Irish Parliament.

So soon as I made myself fully acquainted with these frauds, I joined others in bringing them before the British Parliament. It was in the session of 1832. We repeatedly urged the ministry to have the abuses corrected, and so to regulate the soap-tax as not to afford a bounty to fraudulent manufacturers of that article. We were promised investigation and redress; but promised in vain.

Here I may state a circumstance which I have been assured is literally true, and which elucidates the species of delusion which prevails at the British Treasury, whenever Irish interests

are concerned. Mr. Spring Rice, I am assured, sent down an excise inspector on a mission to Liverpool, to ascertain whether the frauds we complained of in the soap trade really existed. The inspector went down, called on some of the soap manufacturers (the persons accused), dined with them, was most hospitably treated; then, after dinner, asked them whether it was true that these frauds existed. They declared, upon honour, that it was totally false. The inspector was too polite to seek for other proofs, made his report, exculpating the trade, and thus Treasury grounds were laid to refuse, or, at least, postpone relief.

Justice calls on me to add, that, as far as my experience of the British Treasury goes, this is the mode, or something similar, in which all Irish mercantile complaints have been treated since Mr. Spring Rice has been in office. He is full of fluent words; nothing can be more bland or promising; but I have not known one single instance of any Irish merchant, or person in the Irish trade of any kind, getting any species of actual relief in any case of hardship or grievance since Mr. Spring Rice has been at the Treasury. He seems to me to have the most decided disinclination to do anything favourable to his countrymen of any badly-disposed Irishman I ever met; and that is saying a great deal for him.

However, to return to the Irish soap trade. So soon as I became representative for Dublin, I felt it doubly my duty to look for relief for that trade. I was ably assisted by persons connected with the business, and by many Irish members, without party distinction. We pressed the case over and over again upon the ministry. At length we obtained redress. The English tax has been lessened. The drawback has been put on a less fraudulent footing. For the present, the mischief has disappeared, and the Irish soap trade has already become prosperous. I look, I own, with some complacency on the present increasing and healthy state of this trade, when I contrast that state with its depressed condition when I had first the honour of becoming its humble but zealous advocate.

Addressing my constituents on my Parliamentary career, as a member of Parliament, I feel gratified in introducing next—

The Irish Distillery Trade.

And, upon this head, also, I claim some Parliamentary merit. The frauds committed to an enormous extent in Scotland, by means, principally, of the "malt drawback," enabled the Scotch distillers to undersell the Irish manufacturers of spirits in the Irish market. Labour, and all materials, except coals, were dearer in Scotland than in Ireland. The difference in the price of coals was but small in any part of Ireland; in some places, they were as cheap as in Scotland. How then could the Scotch distillers, with dearer materials, sell cheaper in Ireland, and that, after paying freight, shipping charges, and insurance, than the Irish distillers, who had none of these latter items to pay? It struck me at once that it could be accounted for only in one way—by the frauds on the revenue connived at in Scotland, and the excessive rigour of the excise officers in Ireland. I was one of the most active on the committee that brought these matters to light, and obtained some relief.

Had I not more than enough of topics to address you upon, I could relate some facts which came out on this investigation, highly illustrative of the total want of protection which the Legislative Union has occasioned to the Irish distillers. But, the truth is, that the Irish distillers are a class of men most grossly injured and defrauded by the direct and palpable violation of the Union, exclusive of the indirect operation of that nation-degrading measure, that Union which we are now told is to be preserved "inviolable." Bless the drivellers who tell us so!! The articles of that Union have been for years most grossly violated in the article of Irish spirits, simply and singly because it was for the advantage of the Scotch and English distillers that it should be so. In nothing has the injustice towards Ireland of the Imperial Parliament been more frequently or more clearly demonstrated than in their conduct to the

Irish distillers for many years. I repeat, that the terms of the Union have been grossly, palpably, and directly violated.

I next proceed to the

Sub-letting Act.

The history of this Act is curious. It was actually stolen through the House of Commons during the time of circuit—whilst we, who would have endeavoured to prevent its passing, by exposing its horrid and, indeed, murderous provisions, had our attention taken off from the Parliament. It was ingeniously contrived to get it through the House of Commons, and it passed the Lords *sub silentio*, and, as a matter of course. Thus, like a thief in the night, it was stolen upon the Irish people, and for near six years it exercised its malign influence over them. From the moment that I discovered that such an Act had passed, I assailed it with all my might and main, as a law calculated for the gratification of the sordid avarice of the rich, by entailing the greatest distress and misery upon the poor. I denounced it as a law rendering poverty more destitute, and depriving the labouring classes of the very means of existence.

It was denounced, also, by one of those men of transcendent talent and unaffected piety, with whom it pleases God occasionally to bless His Church and people; a man who, I fervently pray, may be long spared in renovated health and accustomed vigour to that Church and people; need I name the Right Rev. Dr. Doyle? He denounced the emaciating and murderous cruelty of the Sub-letting Act, and exposed all its frightful effects in producing poverty, nakedness, and actual starvation. His evidence before the Committees of the House of Commons demonstrated all these horrors.

And, see how his evidence has been confirmed by the facts that appear on the late Parliamentary returns. The population of Great Britain increased between the years 1821 and 1831, at the rate of more than 15 per cent. The population of Ireland during the same period augmented only about 8 per cent.

Under the natural circumstances of both islands, the increase in Britain being 15 per cent., that in Ireland ought to have been fully 30 per cent. It was, in fact, only 8 per cent. Account for the difference. It is easy to do it. The Sub-letting Act counteracted the natural augmentation of a country capable of supporting four times its present number of people. The desolating Sub-letting Act actually consigned to the grave its hundreds of thousands; and by that, and that alone, can the strange and unexpected phenomenon of the greater increase in Britain be accounted for.

Again, another confirmation of Dr. Doyle's evidence is to be found in the comparative estimate printed for the House of Commons, of the population of the county of Carlow in the years I have mentioned, 1821 and 1831. In forty-two parishes which I enumerated, there were but fifteen in which the population increased; whereas there were twenty-seven out of the forty-two, in which it had actually diminished!!! Mark, in twenty-seven out of forty-two parishes, the population within ten years became considerably less. How little is Ireland known to the English people! How unfit it is to trust the legislation for Ireland to those who know little of us, and, in general, care less.

Again, I recollect distinctly, that there was in one village in the county of Carlow—I do not at present recollect its name, but I pledge myself to prove it from the population return—there was one village in that county which was returned in 1821 as containing more than six hundred inhabitants. In the population return of 1831, there is a distinct statement that the village had ceased to be; that there was not one single house, nor one single inhabitant on the lands occupied by the village; they had all disappeared. Such was the desolating massacre of the poor, inflicted by the Sub-letting Act.

One great reason why I desired to be in Parliament was to urge incessantly the repeal of that most destructive Act. Accordingly, I moved for leave to bring in a Bill to repeal it. I was opposed by most of the Tories, and nearly all the Whigs.

Spring Rice, with his usual hatred of Ireland, opposed me; so did Sir Henry Parnell. It is instructive to add these two things:—First—That in the first division I took upon this subject, I had but seventeen members to support me; even some vapouring Irish *soi-disant* patriots deserted me. I had but seventeen supporters in a full House, and was defeated by an overwhelming majority. Secondly—That, as usual, I persevered, day after day, until at length I have succeeded, I will say it, in driving this Administration to abolish almost all the afflicting provisions of that Act; so that, at present, that which was most destructive, became almost inoffensive, and every man can now sub-let or take a sub-lease without the least impeachment as to its validity.

I am, I own, proud of this success. I claim it as almost exclusively my own. The poor now can procure a habitation and dwell in that habitation without its being in the power of the landlord to treat the poor man as an intruder, and to chase him from the land as if he were a beast of prey. I do claim the principal merit of this change; and I do rest the more tranquilly on the confidence of my constituents for having been the instrument to procure this much of good for the poor people of Ireland.

It is also encouraging to perceive what perseverance will do. On the first division, I had but seventeen supporters. On the second, I had twenty-eight; but before I could bring it on a third time, the ministry found it necessary to take the matter out of my hands, and to bring in a Bill to repeal the provisions of the Sub-letting Act; a Bill which is now law.

With one remark, now, I close this topic. It is this, and to this remark I request the attention of the writers in the patriotic papers of Ireland. By the evidence before the Agricultural Committee, it appears that in England, whilst the landlords and farmers are enduring great distress, the condition of the labourer is improved. But, as to Ireland, the reverse is the result of the evidence; some improvement in the dwellings of the farmers, but the condition of the labourers deteriorated.

It has been inquired why the English labourers should have improved, whilst the condition of the Irish labourers has grown worse.

Mr. Stanton, the proprietor of the *Morning Register*, in one of those admirable and transcendently useful letters in which he develops with arithmetical science and certainty the gross financial frauds practised since the Union on oppressed Ireland, seeks in vain to discover an answer to the question—**why the Irish labourers have become more wretched, whilst the English labourers were beginning to improve?** Alas! he forgot the Sub-letting Act, **plainly**; being now repealed, it was no longer in his contemplation. He did not recollect that the Irish labourers are not as yet recovered from the pressure and effects of the misery created by that abominable statute.

I think I can defy any person to dispute with me the merit of being the principal means of abolishing that law.

The next topic to which I call the attention of my constituents is—

The Vestry Cess.

I here also claim the merit of being the principal instrument of procuring the abolition of that most unchristian burden.

Its story also furnishes another curious episode in the history of the crimes committed against the people of Ireland in the name and on behalf of the Protestant Established Church.

The Catholics at the Reformation left the Irish parishes replenished with churches. The Protestant rectors neglected these churches until they fell, or anticipated the hand of time by strewing them in ruins—having converted to their own use all the wealth of the churches and all the funds which kept them in repair. This was injustice the first. The second was that they then taxed the Catholics to rebuild, and then to keep in repair, those very parish churches. The third was, that they excluded the Catholics from any control over, or any account of, their own money. All this was of course to promote religion and piety. What fantastic tricks were played during those

crimes against, and plunderings of, the people, are shown by the Parliamentary returns. In Connaught the Catholics of one parish had to furnish, by vestry cess, the dressing-room and complete toilet of the Protestant bishop. In Wexford the Protestant vestry paid the sexton ten pounds a year for ringing the bell; and the bell having been broken they raised his salary to twenty pounds a year for this facetious reason that he had no longer a bell to ring. In Drogheda the Catholics were assessed one year for wine for communion. For what quantity? For two pipes of port! Only two pipes of port for communion wine. What a strange tale is the story of Ireland's wrongs and sufferings; things that would be incredible, if we had them not on the confession of the delinquents, and on the authority of Parliament, passed over as matters of course in the maintenance of that ascendancy which had so long sat like an incubus on all the energies and all the charities of unhappy Ireland. But "Resurgam" is the watchword; and we will, I trust, live to laugh at the memory of existing evils, as we cheerfully smile at the recollection of those which have passed away.

I need not remind my constituents of my exertions to abolish vestry cess. I need not boast to them of my success, nor of the value of that success. In Peter's parish, alone, we are freed this year from no less than two thousand five hundred pounds.

The next topic in order, and the last in this letter is—

The System of Tithes.

I do claim some merit for my exertions to abolish tithes. I want to have them totally abolished—not in name merely, but in substance and reality—"Delendo est Carthago." This is my maxim as to tithes. They must be abolished or Ireland never will, never can, never ought to be tranquil. The tranquillity of Ireland depends mainly on the total and immediate abolition of the tithe system root and branch—composition and valuation, and all. The tithe system must go, root and branch.

My principle is—the principle of my public life is—that no one Christian should be compelled to contribute to the support of a Church to which he does not belong, or of a religion from which he dissents.

This is the principle to be taken up with order and supported with constancy. Every man to support his own religion—no man to be compelled to support another man's clergyman any more than he is another man's lawyer or doctor.

This principle is gaining ground very fast all over the British dominions. The Dissenters of England, a powerful, intelligent, and most influential body, have adopted this principle, and are about to enforce it with energy and with success. Tithes will clearly be abolished soon in England. In Scotland compulsory assessments for religious purposes are also in jeopardy, being assailed by a people who have always persevered until they have succeeded in extinguishing anything which they felt or deemed to be a grievance.

Ireland, too, has great, very great merits on this score. The passive resistance of the last year was a magnificent spectacle, doing honour to the heads that conceived and the hearts that boldly persevered in that system. The time is however come for more active and energetic measures. The time is come to enable the people of Ireland peacefully, legally, and constitutionally to get rid for ever of the abomination of tithes. We are on the point of victory; if we do not now halt or hesitate, we must succeed. I wish I could rouse every parish in Ireland to the constitutional and legal measures that are necessary to secure the triumph of our great principle. Every experiment has failed to compel an acquiescence in the tithe system by the people of Ireland. Menaces, cajolment, force, horse, foot, artillery—and above all, the resources and chicaneries of law, have miserably failed. You may, to be sure, extort, with the army kept constantly on foot, one or two years' tithes, but the hatred of the system only increases with the increased force which is applied to extort the payment of tithes, and that Government would be neither wise nor even prudent that exhausted the

patience of the Irish people, and made them believe there was no resource save in despair.

Every experiment has signally failed, and it is only matter of astonishment to conceive that any person can be blind to the folly of perseverance. Why, Stanley last year gave the parsons £60,000 of the public money, taking to himself by law all manner of modes of recovering the amount; distress, arrest, imprisonment—executions from the superior courts of law—decrees from the civil bill courts—attachments out of chancery—the lands, the goods, the persons of the people were all made legally responsible, and everything that was summary, expeditious, and efficacious in criminal as well as civil process was combined to recover back the £60,000. 'Well, what has been the consequences? Why, that of the £60,000 only £12,000 has been recovered—balance to loss £48,000. That is the first loss. Pretty well, to be sure. But, hurrah for the people of Ireland—is that the only loss? In good truth it is not, for you must add to the £48,000 these other losses. First, law costs, estimated early at over £14,000; other expenses under the proclamations, estimated at one time at £25,000; military expenses estimated at £30,000—add these three together, and you will have £69,000. But suppose some of those estimates overrated—let us therefore strike off £9,000 which, perhaps, we ought not to do, because these estimates were more than once asserted in Parliament and never contradicted. But yet we will strike off the £9,000, and instead of £69,000 we will put down only £60,000, which, being added to the £48,000, will leave a clear loss to the British public of £108,000.

Here the system manifestly has failed. The Government have wisely desisted, and indeed have taken a vote of credit for one million to enable them to pacify the parsons, and to protect the people from clerical rapacity.

But the parsons will not be pacified, good sooth. They will not abandon their uttermost penny—they will not abate one shilling of their rapacity. Like *Shylock*, they will have the pound of flesh, and not reduce one grain of the pound; and

then out comes the Rev. Somers Payne, and other clerical magistrates of the county of Cork—and they are to beard the Government and enforce tithes to the last shilling.

Well, well, well—we shall soon know of what metal Lord Wellesley, in his old age, and Mr. Littleton, in the vigour of his manhood, are made of. If the Rev. Somers Payne be not swept out of the commission of the peace—a commission which it would have been better he never held—but if he be not swept away from that commission, Lord Wellesley may, according to the Irish phrase, “Go whistle jigs to milestones,” and make up his mind to follow the ill-omened example of Lord Anglesey, and determine to leave Ireland more discontented than he found it, which, indeed, after the beloved Anglesey, would be rather difficult. Yet I do hope better—I really hope better from the recent change. I may be disappointed in my expectations; but if I see a clerical justice who takes the lead to counteract the benevolence of Government and Parliament now that we have them, as it were, accidentally, and, for once, acting benevolently—I say if I see such a clerical magistrate called to his senses by being deprived of the commission of the peace, I will then auger better for Ireland.

But, hereditary bondsmen, do I say to the people of Ireland, you must, after all, act for yourselves? Would I could trumpet-tongued rouse you to exertion. *This is the time to strike the blow, whilst the calm lasts.* The Government grant ought to secure us from the tithe exaction for twelve months. Now, now in this lull, this calm, is your time for exertion. “A long pull, a strong pull, and a pull together,” and we shall be free from tithes for ever.

What do I recommend? What plan do I suggest? I abominate every infraction of the law. I despise and denounce every combination of a criminal nature. My plan is peaceable, legal, constitutional; it is part of that general scheme by which I incessantly contemplate the regeneration of Ireland, and her restoration to national dignity from her present provincial degradation, without a crime, without an offence, without a tear,

and, above all, without the possibility of shedding one drop of human blood.

My plan is, that every parish in Ireland shall, without delay, prepare a petition to Parliament for the total abolition of tithes. Those who choose may combine with the tithe petition another for the Repeal of the Union. It would, perhaps, be better to do both at once; but, at all events, let us have prepared in every parish a petition for the abolition of tithes. Each parish can meet (except in the proclaimed districts) for this purpose. Such a meeting, out of the proclaimed districts, is perfectly legal and safe. Let us show Lord Wellealey and his Secretary the earnestness of our desire to have an end put to the odious tithe system. Let us show them how intense and how universal is the anxiety of the Irish people to abolish tithes for ever. I have thus, in this my first letter to my constituents, thrown my conduct upon some interesting topics before them. I challenge investigation of that conduct. I call for co-operation.

There remain many other subjects of great interest, which I will discuss in one or two other letters. The Coercion Bill—the outrageous insult offered to Ireland by that Bill—the horrible, the ever-execrable state in which that Bill was introduced into the Lords by Earl Grey, well demand, and, indeed, arrest attention. The baseness of many of the Irish members on that occasion will receive, I trust, its due reward.

My plan of agitation is this: I will go through the details of the chief measures of the late session, illustrating, as most of them do, the absolute necessity of a domestic Legislature in Ireland. I will then commence, in each county, the organisation of petitions for the Repeal; and, with the aid of more activity, as we approach the session, and with the increasing claims on Protestant sympathy and support, I trust we will be able to place our right to a resident Parliament beyond doubt, and its restoration beyond danger.

I have the honour to be,

Your faithful servant,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

SECOND LETTER TO HIS CONSTITUENTS.

*To my Constituents.**Derrynane Abbey, October 8th, 1833.*

" Hereditary bondsmen ; know ye not,
 Who would be free, themselves must strike the blow."

Lord Anglesey is gone. Blessed be God ! One page more is turned over in the sad story of Ireland. One proud satrap more has fretted his hour on the stage of Ireland's disgrace and degradation. For what wants our nation these puny minions of a power that springs not from ourselves, nor is directed for our advantage, the only object being to ascertain how far this lovely and fertile island can be made subservient to the wealth, the power, and the pride of the rulers of Great Britain.

Lord Anglesey is gone ; and never had a more noble opportunity to show the superior mind, the high generosity of spirit, the protecting power, that combination of authority with virtue which would have raised him beyond the common lot of humanity, whilst it cheered and vivified everything with its enlivening influence. Lord Anglesey is gone, after having thrown away all his splendid occasions of utility, of goodness, and of glory. He is gone, covered not merely with the hate and indignation, but with the scorn and contempt of the Irish people ; nay, the jeer and jest of all who think or talk of his miserable Administration ; or, if the laughter ceases, it is only because the horrible overcomes the ridiculous, and that the scent of blood stifles every emotion of merriment.

There was more blood shed in Ireland—there was more human blood shed in Ireland during the two years and a-half of the Anglesey-Stanley Administration than during any other ten years of our wretched story. Take out the year of actual open rebellion, and you will find that more human blood lay on the face of the earth in Ireland during his short government, than

during the government of any other three Lieutenants. Does that blood cry to heaven for vengeance, or shall the earth cover it for ever?

What a strange, and silly, and wayward career has been his. Look back at its commencement; how much of good was anticipated from his supposed regard for Ireland; how soon, how sadly, how completely was every anticipation rendered vain. His appointment of Joy to be Chief Baron—was anything ever so foolish? One Chief Baron was superannuated. Well, Anglesey seeks the foremost ranks of the enemy, to find out nearly, if not altogether, as old a man to fill the place. Why? For what? On what account? For what reason? Simply, because he was an enemy—an old enemy. Could he not, at least, have found some man of Whig, or, at least of modern principles? Easily. Why preferred he the high and bitter orange? Because he was an enemy. O sapient Anglesey! Then he makes a Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. But of this melancholy instance of the party fatuity of Anglesey it is not necessary to speak. He who runs reads its strange folly. If he were to make a tenth-rate man a Chief Justice, why not, at least, select a friendly struggler at the bar? The answer is obvious; because if that were done, it would have been a proof of common sense, and of a consistency far below the high vagaries of the self-sufficient Anglesey.

And then, to select, of all the bar, Blackburne to be his Attorney-General! Look at the present state of the bar patronage.

But, no; my present object is not to write a history of Lord Anglesey's ludicrous, yet ensanguined career. I want to return to the subject of these letters. One reflection more only on his Administration. It has often struck me that the excess of unpopularity which has followed Lord Anglesey's conduct, was not so much produced by his tithe campaigns, his arming the yeomanry, or his fostering his and the people's enemies, as by his fatal and most undignified affection for the chicanery of litigation. There was something so unchivalrous in his love of

indictments; his ardent affection for criminal informations; his overweening and gloating delight at prosecutions, that he became infinitely more distasteful for these propensities than he could have been rendered by the most direct and oppressive cruelties, had he been guilty of them. The prosecuting Lord Lieutenant must be ever odious.

Lord Anglesey was the greatest prosecutor that ever came to Ireland, and the most disliked as a governor of any man that, within my recollection, ruled this unhappy land. There is something so low, there is something so mean, in mere prosecuting; there is something so foreign to the nobler emotions of our nature; something so congenial with the baser portions of our nature in the chicanery of prosecutions, that, of all bad Governments, a prosecuting Government must, of necessity, be the most execrated.

We shall see what course his successor will steer. Are the instruments who deformed and disgraced the last Government to be still confided in and used by the present. We shall see. I expect not much, from what has hitherto happened; but we shall see.

In the meantime, hereditary bondsmen, confide in yourselves. Be up and stirring. Begin the war of Tithe petitions. Prepare for the war of Repeal petitions.

I love the apparent tranquillity and calm of the moment. An idle observer, or any stranger, would suppose that the Tithe question was postponed, and the Repeal question extinguished. How little do they know of Ireland. The sense of recent wrongs creates a calm, which is anything but symptomatic of oblivion. But I must return to the subject of my address to you, my constituents.

I am upon my trial before you. I invite every one of you—I invite my enemies—I invite the enemies of Ireland—I invite the friends of Ireland to investigate my Parliamentary conduct with the most scrutinising eye. I voluntarily place myself at the bar of my country, and challenge investigation.

I have already specified my Parliamentary conduct, and I

will say my Parliamentary services, on the topics connected with the soap trade, the leather trade, the distilleries of Ireland, with the Sub-Letting Act, the Vestry Acts, and last, but not least, with Tithes.

These were all subjects immediately and exclusively connected with Ireland. There were many—very many—others of a similar character. There was in a former session the attempt, which I defeated, to bring a “Mortmain Act” into Ireland; there were the abuses in Corporations—the Grand Jury Laws—the Special Jury Laws—the Poor Laws. There were, besides, the violation of constitutional principle in the Change of Venue Bill, and, before all and beyond all, in point of frightful and portentous magnitude, the Coercion Bill.

Before I enter upon these subjects, I would, however, respectfully submit my conduct to my constituents on other measures of great importance, such as the East India Bill and the Anti-Slavery Bill; there was, besides, my battle with the reporters—a battle of which I acknowledge I am not a little proud. I am, I believe, the only man in Parliament who would have dared to attack the miscreant and mischievous power of the reporting Press. I am, it is certain, the only person who ever succeeded against that power.

These, then, should be the objects of this letter:—

To present to your judgment my conduct on the East India Bill, on the Anti-Slavery Bill, and in my attack on, and victory over, the present very inferior race of persons engaged in Parliamentary reporting,

I begin with—

The East India Bill.

It may appear surprising how little of attention this important measure produced even in England. The destinies of more than one hundred millions of human beings were involved in it. It is impossible to exaggerate its magnitude. We legislated for the peace, prosperity, and happiness of one hundred millions of human beings, and yet the Bill attracted but a small share of

public notice. Much of this inattention was occasioned by the ignorance or gross misconduct, or both, of the reporters. The debates on the East India Bill were all but suppressed. A miserable, inaccurate outline of these debates was all that was given to the public. Discussions of the utmost interest to the people of India were thus, as it were, concealed from view. The professions of the ministry, that their first and greatest object was to prepare the inhabitants of India for self-government, would have done honour to those who uttered such sentiments, and would have been more than consolatory to the Tory-oppressed population of the vast regions under the British sway. Words, in such a case, are things. They operate to give a new station in the social state to those of whom they are uttered. But, alas, the wretched reporters took effectual care to prevent the advantages of the publication of such words. The situation of the native inhabitants of India is deplorable, and yet it has been much improved by the conquest or acquisitions of the British. The new India Bill does not go to the root of the evil. It does little indeed to ameliorate the state of the natives. If that state were understood in England, it would excite much sympathy, and probably, produce some redress.

But the limits of a letter are insufficient to explain the vicious and atrocious conduct of the East India Company towards the natives; the grinding and desolating effects of what is called "the land revenue." It is a system of monstrous and perfect oppression. It combines all the evils of these five mischiefs :—

First—A total uncertainty and precariousness in the tenure and occupation of the land by the inhabitants generally.

Secondly—Rackrents, assessed with some of the forms, but without any of the guarantees, which justice requires.

Thirdly—Absenteeism of the real landlords, and absenteeism in its worst form.

Fourthly—These rents collected by the worst possible species of agents—persons who have not any interest whatso-

ever in the prosperity of the natives, and whose interest it is to extort or collect from the occupiers of the lands the largest possible sums of money in the shortest possible time; these persons are called collectors of the land revenue.

And, fifthly—The most defective and multifarious scheme or plan, or rather hotch-potch, of administration of law. Only conceive, for one moment, all the oppressions of Ireland multiplied by themselves, and then the total inflicted on countless legions. You have thus some idea of the sufferings and degradations of the people of India; and what is the excuse for the commission of this outrageous tyranny? Only this—the precedents set us by the Mahometan powers who conquered a very large portion of India. By the Moslem system of rule, the natives of countries conquered by them were bound to embrace the religion of the conquerors, or to submit to extermination, unless they purchased existence by the payment of one-half the gross produce of their lands, besides other tributes.

We have inherited the dominions of the Mussulmans—we insist on the right to half-produce. Thus our land revenue ought, by the very terms of its payment, to vary from year to year, as the amount of the crop necessarily varies with the difference of seasons and other circumstances. Who is it that does not perceive what an abundant source of exaction and oppression is thus opened for the practically irresponsible collectors of such a revenue.

Even when a more permanent settlement has taken place, as in the districts of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, the condition of the peasantry is little, if at all, alleviated, and nothing can demand more of vigilant compassion than the deplorable state of all the cultivators of the land in a population of about one hundred millions of souls.

There is another strange coincidence between the history of India and the sad story of Ireland. The subjugation of the former was only the enactment on a broader scale of the system of rapacity and deception by which the latter was subjugated.

The support given by the English to the weaker O'Donnell in order to put down his more formidable competitor O'Neill, has been one thousand times imitated in India.

The East India Company in all disputes between the native powers took part uniformly with the weaker party, and generally with the worst title; and when their powerful aid placed on the throne the once weaker competitor, they soon taught him that he reigned not for himself but for his allies, and made him feel the full effects of British venality and British treachery.

There is another point in which a more faint resemblance to Ireland appears in the Indian story. I allude to the state of Catholicity in our Indian possessions. The number of native Catholics is comparatively great. It is calculated as certainly exceeding one million of souls.

If, indeed, any attention had been paid by the British to the extension of Catholicity in India, it is probable that great progress would have been already made in the conversion of the great body of the natives. But the English preferred that the natives should continue in the filthy and horrible superstitions of Gentooism to their becoming Catholics. This is the great impulse unhappily of Protestantism to calumniate and to hate what they call Popery, and to attribute to Catholics the horrible imaginings of their enemies, instead of giving them credit for the tenets we really profess, and then to act towards Catholicity as if it really was what its calumniators describe it. There is a curious illustration of this Protestant propensity to act with abhorrence of Catholicity to be found in the history of the Dutch in Ceylon. They (the Dutch), when they became masters of the sea coasts of Ceylon, found within their territories about half-a-million of native Christians, all, of course, Catholics, who had been converted principally by the Jesuits, the companions and successors of the great St. Francis Xavier; but instead of encouraging them, they commenced a most cruel and unrelenting persecution of all the Ceylonese Christians who refused to embrace Calvinism. They invented or adopted part of the Irish penal code, by rendering it impossible for Catholic children to

inherit any of the property of their Catholic parents, besides using more direct force and personal punishment for professing Catholicity; but without being able to extirpate that religion. They, therefore, resorted to another and still more atropious proceeding.

The species of Gentooism professed by the native Ceylonese was the religion of Buddha, an obscene and horrid religion, which had organised itself into a faint resemblance of the Christian hierarchy. In fact, that religion could not subsist for any length of time without the regular graduation of orders of their priesthood. Such, however, was the success of the Jesuits and other Catholic missionaries that the hierarchy of these Buddhists in Ceylon was broken up, and the religion itself was nearly extinguished at the period of the Dutch conquest.

What did the Dutch do? When they found they could not put down Catholicity otherwise, they actually entered into an arrangement with the King of Candy, who reigned in the interior of the island, and lent him a frigate and fitted out for him an embassy, which they conveyed to the Isle of Gava for a fresh college of Buddhist priests. They brought these priests back to Ceylon, and thus actually re-established the Buddhist's hierarchy to preserve the natives from Catholicity. Perhaps nothing in the history of man was ever more revolting.

The Indian Catholics in the British dominions have no complaint to make of any such persecution, but they have been shamefully neglected—even the Bill of the present session, which provided three bishops and a regular establishment of subordinate ecclesiastics for some twenty to thirty thousand British Protestants, did nothing for the native Catholics. These Catholics are languishing for want of an educated priesthood, and also of schools and churches. Yet they have been unnoticed by the recent Bill.

It is right I should inform my constituents that I discovered this gross neglect, and complained of it in the House and out of the House. I succeeded thus far, that I got a pledge from the Indian Department of the Government that every possible atten-

tion should in future be paid our Catholic fellow-subjects in the East Indies, and that the first practical opportunity should be seized upon to give them protection and some support. I do not intend that this pledge should remain unredeemed. At least, I hope it will not be my fault if it be unredeemed. Indeed, I saw and heard enough to make me hope that the Indian Catholics will obtain solid and substantial relief.

The present plan of Indian Government is a strange anomaly. It allows the East India Company of Merchants to subsist, but it takes away from them all commercial pursuits. It leaves them the power of electing directors, and permits these directors to exercise a considerable degree of Indian patronage, but it absorbs all the real powers of Government in the Board of Control—that is, in other words, in the minister of the day. It thus most enormously increases ministerial power and influence.

Again, the bargain made with the East India Company was highly unfavourable to the British nation. It has probably added thirty-six millions to the debt, commonly, but erroneously, called the national debt, because, taking into consideration the great probability—nay, the certainty of the recurrence of war in India, there are no resources adequate in such contingency to defray the debt which the Government has at present guaranteed to the creditors of the East India Company.

Again, the Government plan is most absurdly unfavourable to the public in the length of the term of future existence which it has insured to the thing called the East India Company.

I cannot travel with my constituents through the details of these measures; but my votes are upon record. I supported the Government plan wherever I found it tending to promote the two great objects I had in view. These two great objects were—first, the diffusion of Christianity; and, secondly, the establishment of a solid basis for the future liberty and independence of the inhabitants of India. Having these two objects in view, my votes will, I trust, be found consistent with the principles of the party to which I am proud to belong—the avowed and sincere Radicals of the British empire.

Whatever in the East India Bill tended to the emancipation of the Indian people from mental and political despotism had my support. I felt the awful duty imposed on me, and honestly endeavoured to do the best I could for the natives and inhabitants of our East Indian dominions. Would to God that my capacity to be useful had been equal to my inclinations and wishes.

The great defect in the East India Bill is, that it has done nothing directly, and but very little by indirect operation to remedy the evils of uncertain tenures, rack rents, absenteeism, or exacting or oppressive agency. In short, the interests, the comfort, or the prosperity of the people of India have been but little consulted; and yet, with all its defects, the Bill composes one step in the march of civilisation.

The next great measure of the last session was the Bill to abolish negro slavery.

Upon this most important subject so many considerations of all-absorbing interest arise, that they reduce into insignificance the claims of any individual to public gratitude. Yet I do claim the continued confidence of my constituents for the exertions I have made incessantly, for many years, to forward this desirable consummation.

It is, however, necessary to caution the public against believing that, because the battle is won, the fruits of this triumph of humanity are certainly to be reaped. It requires vigilance, care, perseverance, to secure those fruits, and to prevent a barren mockery from being substituted in the place of real freedom.

The Negro Emancipation Bill was carried through under the auspices of that flippant debater, but most unphilosophic and unstatesmanlike being, Stanley—a man whose success in the logomachy of Parliament has puffed up his own natural and exorbitant vanity, and procured for him a reputation and a party in the State, both of which he will either speedily lose or employ to purposes destructive of the best interests of the State. The Bill, indeed, as it ultimately passed into a law, was most essentially different from the plan originally introduced by Stanley. The original plan was one utterly impracticable in its details,

and most unjust had it been practicable. It consisted in a loan of fifteen millions to the planters, to be repaid by the labour of the negroes. This was the first glaring defect in the plan. It was worse—it was a gross iniquity. The principle for which the emancipation contended was, that slavery was, and must be in itself, essentially unjust, that one man could not be the property of another man without a crime. Slavery, according to us, was not a nuisance merely, which might be modified and gradually ameliorated. No, it was and is a crime of enormous magnitude, to be at once unconditionally and for ever abolished.

It was not by but against the negroes that this crime was committed. They were the victims not the authors of the injustice. The injustice was committed against and upon the negroes by the planters, who perpetrated, and by the British Government who tolerated, or even sanctioned, the iniquity. But the redemption money, according to Stanley's plan, was not to be paid by the planters, the agents of the crime, or their accomplices, the British Government, but by the unfortunate negroes. Anything so unjust, so monstrously iniquitous, was never yet heard of—yet such was the morality of the plan of that sublime statesman, Stanley.

But if there was injustice in the principle it was overborne by the ludicrous absurdity of the details. It is right to take them by stages.

First—The negroes, men, women, and children, were all to be forthwith emancipated and declared free, and slavery was to be for ever abolished all over the British dominions.

Nothing could be better—but—

Secondly—All these free negroes were at once to be turned into apprentices, simply because they were free. These apprenticeships were to be—oh! madness—for twelve years. The child of seven and the old woman of seventy were simultaneously to become apprentices at one blow. Society was to be put on a new footing. There was to be a colonial nation, all masters and apprentices! An idea which had never before entered into a human head—a nation all masters or apprentices! No

art, no mystery, no trade to be taught or learned—yet all to be apprentices, save such as were masters.

Thirdly—The apprentice, being thus a freeman, was to be compelled to work four full days in each week without wages—that is, for nothing or next to nothing—namely, for 40s. worth of clothing in the year. For four days, in each week, during twelve long, long years, was Stanley's freemen to work without wages, and under the terror of the magistrate's cutting whip.

Fourthly—The negro, because he was thus to be free, was, in addition to working four days in the week for nothing, to work the remaining two days in each week—for what, think you? To pay off out of wages to be allowed him for each of these days the sum of fifteen millions.

Fifthly—But this was not all. The price of the negro was to be calculated by his master—that is, a gross value was to be set on each negro by the master. This gross value was then to be divided into twelve parts, and then again each twelfth was to be subdivided into one hundred and four parts, and one of these parts, that is, the one-hundredth and fourth part of one-twelfth part of the gross value set upon the negro, was to be his day's wages for his two days in each week—that is, by each day's labour of the negro he was to pay 1-1248th part of his redemption money—but he was to have only two days in the week applicable to this purpose. He could not by this mode of labour redeem himself in less than twelve long years—but from even this remote and almost delusive prospect of ultimate freedom there was one great drawback. If the negro was prevented by sickness or sorrow—by the death of a parent or child—by marriage or mourning—in short, by any cause—from giving six days' labour under a burning sun, the deficiency was to be noted against him, and he was to continue after the twelve years his new servitude, until he should have made up every deficiency. Such was Stanley's plan. It gave the planters nothing. It even diminished their present powers. It gave the negroes nothing solid or substantial. It deluded both—made the ownership of slaves complicated and unmanageable,

and mocked the wretched negro with the semblance only of freedom. But then it should have given to the mortgagees—to the usurious and grinding mortgagees of West Indian property—the fifteen millions of sterling money; and Stanley has, I presume, a similar affection for them that he has for the tithe exactors of Ireland.

Such was Stanley's plan. It would have produced a universal insurrection had it been attempted to be carried into execution. One convulsive explosion must necessarily have rent asunder the social state in our colonies, and deluged its ruins in blood. But its cruel absurdities and utter impracticability rendered its defeat certain. Indeed, it was scouted by universal acclimation.

In the first place, Stanley was compelled to relinquish his twelve years' apprenticeship. We struck off one-half of the term.

The absurdity of unlearning, unteaching apprenticeship remains; but one-half—one full half—of its duration is gone. Six years are still a sad long period to procrastinate freedom and sicken hope—but one can see through the darkness, and the dawn of liberty, as it were, streaks in the horizon with purer light—

“The full moon of freedom shall shine round them yet.”

In the second place, the use of the cutting-whip, as an inducement to labour, is also diminished. It cannot be employed against females at all. I claim, before my constituents, being the originator of this improvement upon Stanley's plan. It is quite true that, some days after I had placed a notice to this effect on the order book of the House of Commons, Stanley declared that he intended to propose it himself; but it is quite certain that he made no intimation of such improvement in the first instance, and indeed, his bill was read twice, and printed, without any such provision. Certainly some other person would have suggested it, if I had not; but that does not deprive me of my right to claim for my constituents, that it was their repre-

sentative with whom originated the exemption of females in all the colonies from the cruel and degrading infliction of the cart whip.

In the next place, the two days in each week which were by Stanley's plan to be attributed to the payment of the loan of fifteen millions, are to be at the absolute and free disposal of the negro. Thus, even during the six years of apprentice-servitude, the negro has one-third of each year at his own disposal. We have thus further mitigated the horrors of Stanley's plan; and, instead of twelve years' servitude with a power and indeed a certainty of an increased duration, we substituted an apprenticeship terminating certainly with the labour of only four years.

Let it not be supposed that I approve of even the reduced number—I only speak of it as a comparative, not an absolute amelioration. I always insisted, and do insist, that the negro was, and is still, entitled to absolute and unconditional freedom, and that no further delay should intervene to the enjoyment of that freedom, save just so much as should be necessary to organise the public police in such mode of activity and effect as to meet the altered relations of public society, and secure peace and good order according to these new arrangements of the social state.

There remains one more most important alteration of Stanley's plan. He began with a loan of fifteen millions. All at once—*Presto*, pass! he substituted a gift of twenty millions—a gift of twenty millions of pounds sterling—what a lump!—one loses breath at the mere thought; twenty millions of the public money flung away as if it were a china orange—and yet the people of England stand by stupified, and appear careless whether they lend fifteen millions, or give away twenty millions. No wonder that the Government Debt—falsely called National—(and by way of parenthesis, I pledge myself to fix the name of Government Debt upon it preparatory to its just reduction)—no wonder, I say, that the Government Debt should be eight hundred millions—indeed, all I wonder at is, that it is not twice as much. Stanley gives away twenty millions of the public

money one fine evening, and "the reformed ministry" concur—and "the reformed Parliament" applaud the gift.

Observe, by way of note and comment, that the same "reformed ministry" equally concurred in the loan only of fifteen millions, and that the same "reformed Parliament" equally applauded the loan and the author of the loan!!! And are the affairs of nations to be for ever consigned to the folly of rulers, and the base subserviency of the minions of, and expectants on, power?

There was one other trait highly characteristic of "the reformed ministry" and "the reformed Parliament;" it was this—Stanley opened the negro emancipation measure with a long speech. It was throughout a violent invective against slavery and slave-owners—it collated and dilated upon the cruelty and political hypocrisy of the planters—it adopted and justified by official authority all the accounts of negro sufferings and of West Indian tyranny, detailed for years in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*—and then, oh most lame and impotent conclusion! it closed with the absurd and unjust plan which I have already commented upon. The "reformed Parliament" loudly cheered the speech, and as decidedly approved of the plan which directly, and in terms, contradicted the entire spirit and meaning of that speech.

I opposed in every stage the gift of twenty millions. I voted against it in every shape, and divided the House against it as often as I could. I now, to you, my constituents, protest against it as a cruel, additional burden on the industrious and working classes in these countries, and as bestowed on men who in no possible way deserved it, or were entitled to it.

They did not desire it by their conduct, because they had perseveringly and audaciously opposed the benevolent spirit of the times, which exhibited from day to day its increased horror of the condition of the negro slave, and with equally audacious pertinacity opposed every effort on the part of Government to ameliorate the condition of the slaves and to prepare them for freedom. On the other hand, the planters are not entitled to

the money as compensation for any loss, because, if they act with common sense and common humanity, the transition of the negroes from slavery to the state of free labourers can be made without any loss of property to the planters; on the contrary, there is abundant and most satisfactory evidence to satisfy every thinking man that the property of the planters, instead of suffering by the transition from slavery to free labour, would be much increased in value thereby, provided a just and generous humanity and benevolence presided over the first workings of that transition. The system of free labour would soon right itself and produce the usual fruits of industry, guided by the natural wants, and regulated by the natural propensities of mankind to procure for themselves comfort, pleasure, and distinction.

Again, these twenty millions are distributable amongst planters, many of whom have distinguished themselves by the most brutal persecution of preachers of Christianity.

But, after all, the greater portion of these twenty millions will go into the pockets of the usurious mortgagees; just the persons on whose behalf it is most insufferable to increase the burdens of the laborious classes in these countries.

I was at my post, as your representative, during the entire of these discussions. I supported every clause that tended to abolish, or even to mitigate, direct slavery, or indirect slavery called apprenticeship. I supported every clause that tended to extend the blessings of education or to promote the knowledge of Christianity. I opposed every restriction on the human mind, or on the human body, and I gave my most decided opposition to the grant of twenty millions of the money of the people of these countries to persons who had, in my solemn judgment, no right or title to one single farthing.

I cannot close this part of my subject without offering the meed of my very sincere and lively gratitude to Lord Hawick, for his conduct during the entire of the discussions on the question of negro emancipation, both in and out of Parliament. He had digested a plan for the abolition of slavery much more

simple and practical than that which won the approbation of the Cabinet under the dictation of the imperious and unreflecting Stanley. He (Lord Hawick) quitted office and responsibility when he found his plan rejected and Stanley's approved of by the Cabinet; approved of, however, only to be scouted with ridicule by the public. In the House, Lord Hawick sustained, with manliness and talent, his views of the subject; and much of the ameliorations which were worked into Stanley's plan is properly attributable to the talents and exertions of Lord Hawick.

This letter has run into greater length than I had intended. I cannot close it without again adverting to the state of Ireland.

I began with my gratulations on the departure of Lord Anglesey; I conclude with expressing a hope—a fervent hope—that the Administration of his successor may have in it something propitious to Ireland. The Corporation inquiry is working well—extremely well. The total dereliction of the principle on which corporations are alone justifiable, namely, the good of the inhabitants of the city or town, has proved to be complete everywhere in Ireland. A sweeping reform of corporate abuses is inevitable.

The franchise will be restored—so much is manifest—to the resident householders. Shall it be to the £10 householders only, or shall it include £5 householders? That is, after all, the only question. It must certainly be as low as £10. Shall it come down to £5? I am quite convinced it ought, and I trust it will. Nay, I deem it the duty of everybody to struggle to extend the franchise to the occupier of every house worth £5 per annum. It is comical to see the zeal with which the present race of corporators contend for raising the franchise under the coming Reform Bill to £20; although the present community consists in the open places of freemen, very many of whom are not householders at all, and amongst whom are to be found the very poorest persons in the country. But thus it is always with the oppressors of the people; they use the poorer

classes to work their iniquity, when they have that class in their trammels. They exclude the poor when they find that the bad principle is most predominant amongst the more wealthy orders of society.

I do entertain hopes of the present Irish Administration. There is one advantage which it possesses over any recent Government of this kingdom—it is to be found in the unity of purpose of the Lord Lieutenant and his Secretary. If they do ill, it will not be in opposition to each other, but in concert. If they choose to do well, they will have double power to do good deeds. As yet there can be nothing to complain of, and although there is indeed little to applaud, there is still less to censure.

The speeches of Lord Wellesley at the Corporation dinner were not models of absolute wisdom; but still less did they denote anything absolutely hostile to the people of Ireland. Let us, then, hope for better days, and above all things, let us recollect that it is the duty of every one of us to assist the Government in every measure useful to Ireland, and to applaud the Government, as well as to support it, in carrying into effect every such measure.

Lord Wellesley does not seem to understand that there are no longer two parties in Ireland. The divisions which existed between the two denominations of the Irish, when Lord Wellesley was here last, no longer exist. There is no longer a Catholic party opposed to a Protestant party. The Catholics have got all they wanted as a particular body or persuasion. The ascendancy party, however, continues, or rather its ghost walks abroad in the likeness of human existence. There is no second party. The fading remnant of the ascendancy is at the one side; the universal people at the other. The Government cannot stand neutral without deserting its every duty. It should treat the remnant of the faction with exemplary good temper, with every practicable forbearance, but with perfect firmness and decision, whenever there is occasion to act. The Somers Paynes, as well as the Carters, should be taught that

there is no longer impunity for magisterial delinquency. There should be no mock inquiries. No Flint's restoration acted over again, after getting abundant praise for a dismissal. Words will no longer do. Of these poor Anglesey had, heaven knows, more than enough. We must have deeds.

It may be said that the support given to Government in measures useful to Ireland implies an abandonment of the great question of the "Repeal." There never was a greater or more absurd mistake. On the contrary, nothing can tend more to demonstrate the necessity of the "Repeal" than the little good which the best intentioned Administration can do for Ireland under existing circumstances. The "Repeal" is winning its way securely and irresistibly. Even the North, where our weakness once lay, is adding daily to our strength. There are now, I rejoice to say it, already two newspapers in the North full of patriotism and talent, supporting on principle the "Repeal"—the one at Newry, called the *Examiner*; the other at Belfast, called the *Herald*. Then there is the powerful advocacy of Sharman Crawford; believe me, that, when men of his rank, fortune, talents, and high character, take the lead in seeking for the "Repeal," the national restoration of Ireland is at hand, and we shall achieve national independence, as a portion only of the Irish nation achieved Catholic Emancipation—that is, without violence or crime, without causing one tear to flow, and without incurring the possibility of shedding one drop of blood.

For my own part, I do not want the stimulus of recollecting that every single individual of my constituents would be immediately and personally benefited by the "Repeal." It suffices for me to recollect the passing of the Coercion Bill to declare, that no man can possibly love Ireland who can possibly forgive the haughty, the insolent, the atrocious passing of this Bill. It has passed without one single particle of necessity and without any palliation.

It was the insolent presumption of Stanley, adopted readily towards Ireland by Lords Grey and Brougham. I, for one, will

never forgive that crime until I see the Irish Parliament seated in College-green, and the recurrence of such an atrocity towards Ireland rendered for ever impossible.

In the meantime let us aid the Government in every useful measure, but let us not forget the constitutional agitation necessary to carry the Abolition of Tithes and the Repeal of the Union.

I have the honour to be your faithful servant,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

FIFTH LETTER TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

London, July 1, 1838.

"'Twas fate, they'll say, a wayward fate,
Your web of discord wove,
And whilst your tyrants joined in hate,
You never joined in love."

FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN—There is something preposterous in the manner in which the concerns of Ireland are treated by Irishmen. It would be ludicrous if it were not melancholy. There is a disposition to cavil and to unjust imputation which, I know, has deterred many an ardent and generous spirit from devoting his energies to the cause of his country, and which even to me, who have so much of experience of its working, and endured so many, many years of vituperation, sometimes comes over my heart with a sensation of sadness which would drive me for the rest of my life into the shade, did I not reject the temptation, and reanimate my long-upheld spirit of perseverance by the hope that I may yet live to serve Ireland in the restoration of her domestic Legislature.

Upon this point all I claim is seniority. I am the oldest and most continued agitator of the Repeal. I began my public career by opposing the enactment of the Union. The speech I made in 1800 contains my sentiments of the present day. I could wish that those who avail themselves of every adverse gust of wind to insinuate that which they could not openly avow, would read that speech. They would find the great principle of Irish nationality in it, with a generous confidence in our Protestant countrymen—a confidence which subsequent events often diminished, but a confidence which, I rejoice to say, is now returning with renewed vigour, and, indeed, increased with accumulated force by many a cheering Protestant adhesion to the great object of the resurrection of Ireland.

I never deserted the principle of Repeal during the agitation of the Catholic question. I knew full well that there was not the most remote chance of carrying the Repeal until the people of Ireland should be placed on a footing of legal equality. As long as the ascendancy of one portion of Irishmen and the depression of the other prevailed, it was impossible that there could be that community of interest or exertion which alone could afford a prospect of success in seeking the restoration of our domestic Legislature. I, therefore, felt doubly animated to struggle for Catholic Emancipation. "The Repeal" was the great and glorious object which I had in prospective—it always glittered before my eyes, and left Emancipation as a minor good, most valuable in this, that it should be the means of accomplishing my real end and purpose.

Nor did I conceal these my opinions. It was indiscreet to avow them, because that avowal increased and strengthened the British opposition to Emancipation. But, notwithstanding the indiscretion of doing so—an indiscretion for which several of my present calumniators heartily abused me—I did candidly and honestly avow these my sentiments. I acknowledged myself to be an agitator with ulterior views, which views concentrated in the restoration of a domestic Legislature to Ireland.

When Emancipation was conceded I refused to abandon salutary agitation. I took the post I promised to take so soon as that measure should be carried. I stepped out at first almost alone to raise the voice of Repeal. The Leinster declarationists met me on the threshold, and the unwise portion of these silly men were induced by some base designing knaves to pronounce upon themselves a judgment of servility, and upon the unhappy country which had the misfortune to give them birth, a sentence of perpetual and provincial degradation.

But I did not despair. I continued to agitate the question with doubtful success, chilled by the despair of those who thought that Ireland was destined for perennial slavery. The revolution of 1830 shone forth in Paris. The hopes of the friends of liberty all over the globe beat high. Belgium dissolved by

force, and, alas ! in blood, her legislative union with Holland. The moment was come to rally the slumbering spirit of "Repeal." I, accordingly, aided to revive that spirit, to reanimate public confidence in the destiny of Ireland, and to organise that peaceable and legal combination of Irishmen of every class and of every persuasion, which must sooner or later result in the regeneration of our native land ; soon, if we adopt wise and prudent counsels ; late, if any considerable portion of us shall be led astray by honest folly or by the artful machinations of malignant knavery. The Reform Bill arrested our progress. The Tories desired that we should embarrass the ministry whilst that ministry were struggling to extinguish the rotten boroughs. But we were then too wise and too honest to listen to the suggestions of our enemies ; although then, as now, aided by the restless murmurs of some honest but mistaken Repealers. We felt also that Ireland owed all her misfortunes and miseries to a Government supported by an unreformed Parliament. It was possible that a reformed and democratic Parliament even in London might cure all the evils inflicted on Ireland by the sordid oligarchy which had preceded them ; it was just possible that avowed reformers, although British, might reform all Irish abuses and redress all Irish grievances. It was, to be sure, highly improbable, but as it was possible, and as that possibility would be proclaimed to be a certainty until tried, it became prudent to pause and give the spirit of British reform a fair trial. This course, however, like everything else, had its revilers at the time. But I look back with satisfaction to the course I then advised, and I am quite convinced that we are now much farther advanced towards the Repeal than we could have been had we adopted a different course, and refused to give Reform a fair trial.

That trial did not last long ; it soon, indeed, became apparent that it was utterly hopeless of redress.

The malignant genius of Stanley, countenanced as it was by the astounding vanity and unwise egotism of our unwise and Orange-led Lord Lieutenant, prevailed.

The Irish Reform Bill, brought in under their auspices, was not only a grievous injustice to Ireland but a most daring insult to our rights. We were provincialized even in our Reform Bill, and, whilst England and Scotland were cherished, Ireland was treated with restriction and insult. I, for one, flung aside procrastination. We raised again the standard of "Repeal," and under that banner fought all the elections in every county and place where there was no danger of increasing or exciting by an election constant religious animosities between Protestants and Catholics.

We succeeded in almost all the counties in which the popular spirit prevailed. Of such counties Wexford alone gave us not one pledged Repealer, whilst it treated us, for county members, to two determined enemies of constitutional liberty in Ireland. By one of those strange vagaries of the public mind which are apt to disgust inexperienced politicians, it would appear that Wexford—which has not given us even one pledged Repealer—has become more impatient for a fruitless contest on the Repeal question than the counties which did their duty and all their duty to the cause of Repeal.

The present session of Parliament approached under what appeared to be favourable prospects for Ireland. As the then apparent leader of the Repeal, I made my arrangements for an early bringing forward of that measure. My plan was this—I determined to try the reformed Parliament for the redress of the most prominent of our grievances. I accordingly, so soon as the order book of the House of Commons was opened, put upon it notices of motions for bills—

"First—To remedy the evils of our Jury Law in all criminal as well as civil cases, and not only in the superior courts in Dublin, but at the assizes, and in all inferior courts, by introducing the principle of ballot in all cases, and taking away from the Crown all right of challenge, except for cause."

This would have purified the sources of justice.

"Second—To remedy the oppressions of our Grand Jury Law by creating grand juries on the principle of representation—that is, by having the grand jurors elected by the cess-payers in each parish."

"Third—To remedy the scarcely-endurable despotism of our justices of the peace, by making the office of justice of the peace elective, one justice at the least to be elected in each parish to serve for three years only, unless re-elected."

I need not dwell upon the advantages of this measure. Under my system the magistrates, instead of being the haughty rulers of the people, would be their friends and protectors. Perhaps there is not one point of practical utility which would ensure so much of quiet and comfort to the Irish people as the power to elect their own magistrates.

"Fourth—The extension of the suffrage, and the facility of registration of voters in our towns as well as counties, and an adequate increase in our representation."

Without a measure of this description our Reform Bill is a mockery.

"Fifth—A thorough and entire reform of all abuses in our corporations, so as to identify the corporate body with the inhabitants, without any religious or political distinction."

The obvious effect of this measure would be to destroy, at once, the odious domination in our towns and cities of a peculating and besotted monopoly, and to give to every householder his due share in the management of the corporate funds and expenditure, and of all the affairs relative to the good government, to the protection of the poorer and working classes, to the police, peace, and good order of all the inhabitants.

"Sixth—The total and unequivocal extinction of tithes and vestry cess."

I need not dwell on these measures; they are of that nature without which there cannot be permanent peace or tranquillity in Ireland. But I grow tedious. I will, therefore, only add upon this part of my case, that I had included in my notices the abolition of the remaining part of the Sub-letting Act, so as totally to extinguish that most oppressive and unprincipled statute.

It is, however, beyond my present purpose to proceed further with my projected measures of relief. It is sufficient to say, they were all intended as trials of the spirit and good disposition towards Ireland of this Reformed Parliament. If I had been successful; if that Parliament had given me those measures honestly, substantially, and practically, although I acknowledge it would damp the ardour for Repeal, yet it would have done much good to the people of Ireland. If, on the contrary, those measures were rejected, then the necessity of the Repeal would appear too obvious to be controverted by any honest Irishman. Such was the speculation with which I commenced the present session of Parliament. My experiment would have been complete in a few weeks. I easily anticipated that, in that period, the Reformed Parliament would show itself, and prove its incapacity to redress the evils of Ireland. Alas! it did, indeed, so show itself, not only by refusing to redress our grievances, but by that most astounding act of cruelty and injustice which one country ever exercised over another—the Coercion Bill. I was then satisfied that I had all the argument, all the reasoning with me in favour of the Repeal. One only duty remained: it was, and is, to concert the means of effecting the restoration of the Irish Parliament without bloodshed; my political creed being, that the best possible political revolution is not worth one single drop of human blood.

People of Ireland, this is the capacity in which I now stand before you. I am the oldest, the most continuous and constant, the most solemnly pledged, and, may I add, the most anxious of the honest Repealers belonging to Ireland.

I candidly confess, it may be vanity and weakness, but, at all events, I do confess that I am desirous to be left for some time longer the management of the Repeal question. I am anxious to follow up the plans I have devised to effectuate Repeal. I wish, strongly wish, to be permitted to develop my means of obtaining the concurrence of Irishmen, of every sect and persuasion, to the restoration of Irish nationality and the destruction of the provincial degradation of Ireland.

My only motive for deserving the management and leadership of this great question ought to be, and must be, that is if I am honest, a conviction that in this capacity I can be useful.

I do most solemnly declare that, if I knew any man likely to be more useful to the cause of Repeal; nay, if I knew any man likely, at the present moment, to be equally useful to that cause, I would readily, cheerfully, and gratefully resign into his hands that management and leadership.

But this is the period of the utmost difficulty to that cause. Fettered, gagged, and controlled, as public opinion and public spirit are in Ireland; deprived as we are of the greatest of constitutional rights by the Coercion Bill; with a Lord Lieutenant under the most absolute control of a bigoted and anti-national Attorney-General; at such a moment as this I cannot surrender my station in the cause, without seeing that I am to be replaced by some person more competent than myself to regulate the mode of attaining national freedom for Ireland.

But, if I have lost the confidence of my brother Repealers in Ireland; if men equally honest, truthful, and more wise than myself, deem it right to hand over the conduct of the Repeal cause even to a Repealer of yesterday—even to a man without more talent and with less services than mine—even to one, if he can be found, whose first step in the cause of Repeal may be the creating of dissension and distracting by division—even to one whose proceedings may be cheered by the most bitter and unrelenting enemies of Ireland; still, I repeat it, I am, if the people of Ireland desire it, ready and most willing to resign my pretensions to utility, and to abandon the management of the Repeal cause to him whom the people of Ireland honour, and in whom they think they ought to confide. They are better judges than I am, and in their decision I will, at once, and, I hope, cheerfully acquiesce.

But, in order to enable the people to judge between us, I proceed to state my plan "for procuring the restoration of the domestic Legislature of Ireland, without an offence or a crime, without violence or bloodshed." When I have developed that

plan, I will state as fully as it reached me the counter-project of the new managers.

Let me, by way of preface, just state that, although it may be decided that I am unworthy to manage "the Repeal cause," yet, even that decision shall not diminish my anxiety for the Repeal, nor prevent me from endeavouring, in my individual capacity, to discover and adopt the best means I can to forward that great cause; and, although not confided in by others, I will not be the less unremitting, individually, to look for, and seize on the fit and proper times and modes of attaining the constitutional independence of Ireland. My efforts shall not be relaxed at any suitable occasion to attain that object.

After this preface, I proceed to develop my plan for advancing the cause of "the Repeal":—

First—I propose to procure from as many parishes in Ireland as I possibly can petitions for the Repeal of the Union. This I do intend to be the great work of the ensuing recess. It will require, in the present state of the law, and with the unconstitutional impediments which the Coercion Bill interposes, much and persevering exertions in order to obtain these petitions. It must consume months before they can be all collected. Perhaps I may obtain them from every parish in Ireland. Certainly I shall be able to procure them from the far greater part of the parishes.

Secondly—For this purpose, I intend to take each county in alphabetical order. I have, in Parliamentary Returns, the names of all the parishes in Ireland. I will follow up from parish to parish my exertions for petitions.

There were petitions presented this session for the abolition of negro slavery, signed by about one million three hundred thousand persons. I hope that, before the first day of the next year, there will be petitions signed by two millions of Irishmen for the Repeal of the Union.

Thirdly—My principal study, and that to which I will devote most time and attention, will be the procuring as many Protestants as possible to sign these petitions. There are already

several Protestant Repealers; but we want more; we cannot—I shall go further and say—we ought not succeed in the Repeal of the Union as the work of any one sect or persuasion. It can be done only by a combination between all Irishmen. In fact, at present, it wants nothing but that combination to ensure success. The Protestants of Ireland have it now in their power to restore a domestic Parliament. Let them but join the rest of the Irish people, and the thing is done. No ministry could resist the unanimous prayer of the people of Ireland. We are eight millions.

Fourthly—It is a principal part of my plan to conciliate the Protestant population of Ireland, not by cunning or deceit, which, indeed, would be impossible, but by the gradual disclosure to, and perception by them of this great truth: that whilst as Protestants they have nothing to lose as Irishmen, they have everything to gain by the restoration of a national Legislature, in Ireland.

Fifthly—This part of my plan necessarily requires time to develop it fully and with efficacy. The Bills which are in progress this session, though not in themselves of much value, will, however, destroy much of the delusion under which Irish Protestants labour. Some of them still imagine that it is possible to revive Protestant ascendancy. Cherished as that ascendancy has been for centuries by the British Government, the Irish Protestants of the present generation cannot, as yet, believe their own senses that it is gone, and gone for ever. Many of them still cling to the fond hope of its revival, and it is this delusion which prevents them from becoming Repealers. When they become convinced that they have no chance of advantage, as a faction, all their energies will be combined with ours to obtain benefits as a nation. A little time is all that is now wanting for the purpose.

Sixthly—Even the Church Temporalities Bill, if carried into a law, will aid in bringing many Protestants to become Repealers. That Bill does little indeed for the people, but it tramples under foot many darling prejudices of the Irish Protes-

tants. They never can expect that a Parliament which, at one blow, and, as it were, by a pure fantasy, exterminates two Protestant archbishops and eight Protestant bishops, can be ever brought to dream of re-establishing Protestant ascendancy. This is so plain and palpable that I look upon this Bill as a great stimulant to the Repeal, especially as it never was called for by the Catholics or Dissenters of Ireland. We do not want to put any gratuitous insult on the Protestants of Ireland; what we want is to lessen to the people the intolerable weight of the Protestant establishment in its temporalities. The ministry give a bill which does not, in any useful degree, lessen that weight, but which, to an enormous and impertinent extent, interferes with the spiritual arrangement of the Protestant hierarchy in Ireland. The ministry thus displease one party and do little to gratify the others; but they effectually recruit for the "Repeal" by proving the utter hopelessness of the restoration of "ascendancy." This naturally drives the most inveterate of the Protestants to look for another restoration, in which we are equally interested—the restoration of the Irish Parliament.

Seventhly—My plan embraces the giving time for the working of events; events now inevitable. The steps which the Whigs have taken—slowly, to be sure, and undecidedly, as is the manner of the Whigs—for the destruction of corporate monopoly; the commission about to issue to inquire in both countries into corporate abuses—the irresistible impulse given to the spirit of amelioration in all municipal institutions, leave no rational doubt that the ascendancy monopoly which has hitherto prevailed in the Irish corporations is drawing to a close. This conviction of the approaching termination of the monopoly which subsists in the corporations in Ireland will disengage another considerable class who are detained in the ranks of the anti-Repealers by the advantages derived from that very monopoly which is thus about to be extinguished. Before the next session we, Repealers, will thus procure a considerable accession to our numbers of active and intelligent

Protestants, kept from us at present only by a selfish because purely personal interest.

Eightly—My plan thus embraces every means, between this and the next session, of increasing the number of Repealers, and then, as early as possible in that session, the making a demand on the Legislature in the name of universal Ireland of the restoration of our domestic Legislature.

Ninthly—For this purpose I intend to combine the procuring of parochial petitions, with the ascertainment of the number of voters or persons capable of becoming voters in each parish; and the procuring every such voter to pledge himself not to support any but a Repeal candidate of tried integrity.

Tenthly—According to my plan a full and complete opportunity will be ensured for a deliberate discussion of the great national question. I intend to bring it on at that period of the session when there will be no excuse to refuse sufficient time for fully considering a measure of such vital importance. It will, of course, require four or five days' debate for this purpose; I must, therefore, have everything arranged to bring on that debate early in the session. I know, by experience, that it is more difficult to get a discussion of five hours in the closing part of a session than five days in the commencement. It is in human nature that it should be so.

Eleventhly—Part of my plan includes arrangements to have a full report of the debate on "The Repeal" in some English papers. Some expense must be gone to for this purpose. The English newspapers have no interest in reporting matters purely Irish. The reporters either are directed not to report them, or their reports are cut down into nonsense, or converted into falsehood by the editors. I am as well treated, when I speak on English business, as any man of my calibre in the house; but it is quite ludicrous to see how I am treated when my topics are Irish. I will give two instances. The one of the grossest neglect; it is this. The most persuasive speech I made in the present session—and, I believe, what indeed was not difficult, the best—was upon the subject of Poor Laws for Ireland. I am

convinced, from what I saw and heard, that I made an impression on the House, and I was deeply anxious that speech should have been fully reported. Well, it was completely burked. A speech of an hour was despatched in half a dozen lines. The other instance is more recent, and exceedingly absurd. The newspapers during the last week have actually gone the length of making me say that I am not pledged to the Repeal of the Union.

Only think!—me—the most pledged man that ever was pledged to a national measure—made to say that I am not pledged to the Repeal.

After this I need not add how necessary it will be for us to have a complete arrangement made with one or two English newspapers, so that a full report of the debate on the Repeal may be given—an arrangement which will require time and money.

Twelfthly—Care must be taken, and I intend to take care to prepare the popular mind, in England and Scotland, for the discussion of the Repeal, by showing them that Repeal does not mean separation, but directly the reverse; Repeal being in truth and in fact the only means of preventing a fatal and sanguinary struggle, which in the present state of the world must necessarily terminate in a separation ruinous to both countries. They should also be shown that the people—I say, emphatically, the people—in the agricultural, manufacturing, and industrious classes in Great Britain are, if possible, more injured by the emaciating effects of the Union than the people of Ireland. Irish labour, owing to the poverty of Ireland, created by the Union, can be had so very cheap, that it brings down in the English and Scotch markets the wages of the English and Scotch operatives, in manufactures as well as in husbandry. If, by having a domestic Legislature in Ireland the Irish labourers were employed—as they would be employed—at home, their claim would diminish, and the British operatives would have still greater reason to bless “the Repeal,” than the Irish themselves.

It is my intention to spend some weeks in a tour through Scotland and England, immediately before the next session commences, explaining and inculcating these matters, and procuring as many British petitions as I can in favour of a measure which I do, in my conscience, believe to be essential for the preservation of these realms in the high, exalted, and happy station which they ought to occupy amongst the nations of the earth.

Such, fellow-countrymen, is the outline of my plan. It includes the conciliation of, and combination with, Irishmen of every sect, party, and persuasion. It embraces the strengthening of our cause by the good sense and patriotism of Great Britain. It may not succeed in one session; but I have persuaded myself that it will lay in a rational, dignified, and well-considered manner, the sure foundation upon which the superstructure of the democratic and constitutional liberty of both countries can speedily and securely be raised.

Such are my plans, fellow-countrymen. Whether will you aid or baffle me in giving them a fair trial? They are too important to be mixed up with paltry or personal squabbles; they concern the rights and liberties of millions; and if acted upon with the energy and the perseverance which I intend to bring to them, will, I think, enable me to write my name proudly on the page of Irish History, as one of the restorers of the national and constitutional independence of my native land.

In my next letter I will trace and assail the project of those who deem themselves better qualified to manage the workings of this cause than I can be. Probably they are so; and that even the vanity which blinds me to my own deficiencies prevents me from fully appreciating the talents, and, above all, the judgment of others.

But the project does not require much ingenuity to discover. It is nothing more than this—to insist on a discussion, on this, the closing period of the present session. That is the entire of the sapient plan; it has neither preliminary means nor subse-

quent resources. It is the unwise man's bolt in one respect; it is soon shot off once and for aye.

I will assail it in my next letter and show its inutility—indeed utter hopelessness, and I must say its absurdity. I sincerely give credit for the best of motives and the most pure intentions to those who urge it, but I do not think it the less unwise on that account.

Every man who believes me to be an honest Repealer will give me credit for this: that if I thought the Repeal cause could be promoted by any further discussion this session, I would most heartily and most readily join in bringing it on.

Nay, if I were not convinced that any attempt to discuss in this session that great measure with deliberation or calmness must be utterly unavailing, and, indeed, that such attempt, besides being fruitless, would be actually mischievous, I should certainly bring it on without any delay.

But, confining myself in this letter to the announcement of my plans, I will reserve for the next my view of the inutility which seems obvious, and the mischiefs which are likely to flow from the vain attempt to discuss, in the manner it ought to be discussed, this great national question, in the few, the crowded, the hurried, I may say the overwhelmed days which remain of this session, amidst impatience, lassitude, and pre-occupied minds.

Do you, my countrymen, decide. For my part I do not despair; on the contrary, my heart swells high with hope for the future destinies of Ireland. I may be thwarted for a moment in my views of serving my country, but, with the natural elasticity of my disposition, I will return to the charge. I will devote all the faculties of my mind, all the energies of my soul to make Ireland a nation once again—once again and for ever.

I fondly anticipate that her hour of trial and degradation is fast passing away, and that the period of her freedom and prosperity is fast approaching. She won the constitution of 1782 without a drop of blood or a tear—she won the extinction of tithes without a crime on her part. Her sense of justice has

triumphed over that odious system, and tithes are no more. The cloud of despotism settles now on her brow, but it is a passing cloud—

“The nations have fallen, but thou still art young,
Thy star is but rising, whilst others have set,
And though slavery's gloom round thy morning hath hung,
The full moon of freedom shall beam round thee yet.”

I have the honour to be, fellow-countrymen,

Your faithful servant,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

LETTER TO THE CITIZENS OF CORK.

(From the Cork Chronicle.)

September 9, 1833.

The following answer to a letter, inviting him to a public dinner in this city, was received Thursday afternoon from the *Liberator*.

Mr. O'Connell's reply has been submitted to the dinner committee, and we understand that they have left the time to his own choice, only requesting of him to name as early a day in November as will suit his convenience. Come when he will, he is welcome; and we are satisfied the reception he shall meet with here will be a gratifying proof of our increasing regard and unabated confidence :—

Derrynane Abbey.

SIR—I beg leave respectfully to acknowledge the invitation to a public dinner, which a meeting of the citizens of Cork have done me the honour to transmit to me through you their chairman.

If anything could enhance the value of such a compliment it is the channel through which it has been communicated. But, in plain truth, nothing can increase to my mind its importance. I receive that invitation not only with pride and pleasure, but with sentiments of, I trust, a more exalted and patriotic nature.

I accept it as a proof that the patriotic and independent citizens of Cork sympathise with me in the exertions that I have humbly but zealously made not only to advance the best interests of our beloved native land, but also to protect her from the wanton and unnatural injury and debasing insult of being deprived of the first and greatest of all constitutional rights, at the atrocious caprice of the mock Reformers, ministerial and legislative.

Your invitation proves that you concur with me in the just

and inextinguishable indignation that every lover of liberty and of Ireland must feel at this, the greatest and, I trust, the last outrage that has been perpetrated upon unhappy Ireland by the insolence of British power, combined with British falsehood and folly. The shouts of barbaric domination with which the Coercion Bill was cheered still ring in my ears and enliven my determination to render a repetition of such a scene impossible, by that which alone can secure the liberty of Irishmen and the constitutional connection of the two countries—the restoration of our domestic Legislature.

I accept, therefore, your invitation, containing as it does the evidence of your hearty concurrence with me in the deep conviction that Ireland can never expect safety for her liberties, encouragement for her commerce, the stimulant and universal advantage of a domestic market and a domestic consumption for her agriculture and manufactures, and, greater than all, freedom from paltry and vile insult, without a peaceable, a constitutional, but a complete Repeal of the Union.

But, although I must accept your invitation as I would obey an honoured command, yet I trust you will allow me to name a distant day for that purpose.

After nearly seven months of the most close and unremitting labour, I want the calm and quiet of my loved native hills—the bracing air, purified as it comes over “the World of Waters.” The cheerful exercise, the majestic scenery of these awful mountains, whose wildest and most romantic glens are awakened by the enlivening cry of my merry beagles, whose deep notes, multiplied one million of times by the echoes, speak to my senses, as if it were the voice of magic powers, commingling as it does with the eternal roar of the mighty Atlantic that breaks and foams with impotent rage at the foot of our stupendous cliffs. Oh! these are scenes to revive all the forces of natural strength—to give new energy to the human mind, to raise the thoughts above the grovelling strife of individual interests, to elevate the sense of family affection into the purest, the most refined, and the most constant love of country, and even to exalt the soul to

the contemplation of the wisdom and mercy of the all-seeing and good God, who has been pleased to afflict Ireland with centuries of misrule and misery, but seems now to have in store for her a coming harvest of generous retribution.

Permit me, then, to postpone for some—shall I say considerable—time the day on which I am to meet my friends and the friends of Ireland in Cork. Do not tear me from this loved spot until I have enjoyed some of its renovating effects. If you think I deserve the sweets of this loved retreat, give me time to taste them more at leisure after my fatigues and vexations; and allow me to mention a distant day for that on which I am to meet you at the festive board, consecrated in my humble name to the welfare of Ireland.

Believe me, it is with regret I seek this postponement. I prize the patriotism of the citizens of Cork as of the highest importance. There is this in your patriotism that makes it of inestimable value—namely, that it is not confined to one sect or party. You have not only patriotic Catholics, as elsewhere, but you have what is wanted, alas! in too many places, patriotic Protestants of several religious denominations, who rival the best friends of Ireland in the energy, the intelligence, and the pure sincerity of their love of country.

Would that the Protestants of the rest of Ireland would imitate the patriotic ardour of so many highly distinguished, respectable, and religious Protestants in Cork. Then, indeed, Ireland would be too strong for oppression; and peace, prosperity, and freedom would flourish under the protecting influence of a domestic Legislature.

I cannot conclude without again expressing to you my gratitude for the kind manner in which you have conveyed to me this proud invitation.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your very obedient, faithful servant,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

TO THE PATIENT AND BRAVE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

“ Hereditary bondsmen, know you not,
Who would be free, themselves must strike the blow.”

FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN—I dedicate these letters to you; they were written to assert your rights, and to expose your enemy.

It was one object of mine to show the British nation how much we are wronged. It was, and is, another object of mine, that every one of you should know and feel that a majority in the Imperial Parliament are ready to treat Ireland with injustice and insult.

Convinced as I am of the value of the connection between both countries, and of the necessity of re-establishing that connection on the basis of separate Legislatures, in order to make it permanent, I have felt it my duty to demonstrate, by the irresistible evidence of facts, how alien from Irish rights, and regardless of Irish interests, a foreign Parliament must inevitably be. This is certainly the fittest moment to make the conclusive experiment; because this, in the first place, is a reforming Parliament—a Parliament warm in the pursuits of political justice. In the second place, all Reformers in this country must admit that a debt of gratitude is due by them to their Irish fellow-labourers. In the third place, the House of Lords, who are supposed to entertain an hereditary hatred to Ireland, were never so weak and impotent as they are at this moment. They have dragged their honours through the mire with a dexterity of filthiness which has exceeded the hopes of their worst enemies. They were never less capable of resisting, although many of them may be as ready as ever to resist a popular and beneficial measure for Ireland.

This, then, is the time to demonstrate the truth of my theory:—“That the British Parliament, even under the most

favourable circumstances, is incompetent—utterly incompetent—to do justice to Ireland.”

They are, I repeat, utterly incompetent. Intrigues at Court; old jealousies of Ireland newly revived; the natural distaste of the Peers to look on us in any other point of view than that which combines hatred with contempt; and even in the House of Commons, almost a total want of sympathy, save from one generous spirit here, and another there, thinly scattered through the House. But, without entering into further details, I again pronounce the moral incompetency of the British Parliament to do us justice.

I hold the proof of it in my hands—the Irish Reform Bill. Here it is, with its paltry endeavour to keep from the people of Ireland all participation in the franchise of the British Constitution. Here it is, perpetuating, in the name of Reform and concentrating all the foul injustice of the Peel-Wellington disfranchising measure, and giving us a machinery of registration, almost too audacious for the bold, bad men who perpetrated, as they imagined, the total annihilation of the popular spirit in Ireland—a machinery rendered still worse by the Reform Bill!!!

I have not written these letters with the vain and foolish hope of obtaining justice for Ireland; I totally disclaim that folly.

But I did write them to prove my candour, to show that I would not employ the insulting insufficiency of the Irish Reform Bill as an argument for the Repeal of the Union, without first emphatically warning those who now have our destinies in their hands, that, unless they deprive me of that argument, it will be my sacred duty to use it with all the energy of my mind, and all the earnestness and perseverance of a character which has been formed by love for that country in whose cause I have already contributed, in some degree, to the achievement of a bloodless, stainless, but most important victory.

Surely, after it shall have been, by the adoption of this

Reform Bill, demonstrated that the Parliament in this country is not in a position to do us justice, there will not be found one Irishman who has ever professed patriotic feeling, so recreant to his country's cause as not to join me in seeking, by all legal and constitutional means, for the Repeal of the Union.

People of Ireland ! you have passed through a gloomy period of oppression. Your business now is, to be reconciled, the one to the other. Party feuds—religious dissensions—ancient animosities—modern quarrels—should all be buried in one common oblivion.

The time is come when we should no longer divide from each other, under any nicknames or peculiar appellations. We have one common country—we have one common interest—the peace, prosperity, and freedom of that country. These cannot be attained, save by, and through, a resident Legislature.

The moment is fast approaching when we will forget our reciprocal injuries and injustices to each other—and, at that moment, our constitutional independence must be restored; and no longer the serf or the bond slave of Britain, but combined with her in interest and affections, and united only by the golden and cherished link of the Crown, we shall be the best customer and consumer of Britain in peace, and her firmest support, and ready partner, in the dangers and victories of war.

Let no despair come over your minds. It is well that this proof should be given of the impossibility of obtaining justice for Ireland in this Parliament. This will secure a combination and community of exertion in Ireland, and place us, Repealers, beyond the reproach of the wise and good in this country.

There were many men who told me that they would not look for the Repeal of the Union, because they believed that a reformed Parliament would attend to the wants and wishes of the people of Ireland. This class of persons would now see

that not only was their expectations unfounded on any known fact or circumstance, but that Ireland is actually refused anything approaching, in the most remote degree, to common justice. She is, in truth, refused a Reform Bill, because the name does not constitute the thing. She gets one in name—she is refused it in reality.

I am just informed, by authority of a very high description, that care has been taken by the Commissioners of Division in Ireland to manage matters so that the Duke of Devonshire is to have no less than three close boroughs—Dungarvan, Youghal, and Bandon; and, mark this particularly—Stanley has not, up to this moment, published the details of the population returns in Ireland, nor the maps of the new boundaries of boroughs—and yet, to-morrow, we are to go into Committee on this very Bill!!!

Men of Ireland—Catholics!—Protestants!—Presbyterians!—and Dissenters of every Christian denomination!—this Bill is insulting and injurious to us all—we are all its victims. A haughty and contemptuous perseverance by the ministry in wrong includes and involves us all in one common contumely. The struggle to hand over to an absentee oligarchy the representation of Ireland equally oppresses the inhabitants of Ireland, of every class and of every creed. Irishmen of every class and creed, hoard this injustice in your inmost souls; and recollect that you have only to will the remedy, in order to be certain of attaining it.

We are eight millions.

I have the honour to be, fellow-countrymen,

Your most devoted, faithful servant,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

*Parliament-street, London,
12th June, 1832.*

TO THE REFORMERS OF GREAT BRITAIN.

LETTER I.

London, May 22, 1832.

BROTHER REFORMERS—I appeal to you from the contemplated injustice of the Irish Department of the British Ministry. I respectfully solicit your aid to prevent another act of gross iniquity, another vile insult from being inflicted on the people of Ireland.

My cause of complaint is this:—the Reform Bill prepared for Ireland by the present Administration is defective, partial, oligarchical, unjust, and daringly insulting.

My object is twofold:—first, to prove the truth of these assertions; and, secondly, to solicit your assistance, in order to prevent the consummation of this iniquity.

But, as a preliminary, you have a right to know what species of Reform Bill I require for Ireland. I do not hesitate one moment to give you that information. I ask, in the name of the Irish people, for just such a Reform Bill for Ireland as you have obtained for England—that is all. Is my demand unfair or unjust? I anticipate a universal reply in the negative.

I ask, then, for Ireland, a Reform Bill which shall be identical with the English Bill, wherever an identity of institutions and other circumstances allows it to be identical. I then demand that the Reform Bill for Ireland should as closely resemble as possible the English Act—that it should be as similar in its provisions as possible, and that the extent of Reform in Ireland should be equivalent to, and equally satisfactory with, that in England.

I ask for the people of Ireland the same measure of Reform which the people of England receive. I will not be—I ought

not to be—content with less. In other words, I look for as complete an equality of Reform in both countries as possible.

But the Ministerial Bill for Ireland is directly the reverse. It is, I repeat it, partial, restricted, unjust, and insulting. It is constituted to sacrifice the Irish Reformers to the Irish Tories—who, by the by, constitute the very worst class of Tories in existence.

I proceed to point out the principal particulars in which the Irish Reform Bill differs from the English. They are these :—

First—The English Bill greatly enlarges the elective franchise in the counties of England. The Irish Bill, on the whole, diminishes the number of voters in the Irish counties. The Bill for Scotland exceedingly increases the number of voters in Scotch counties. The Irish Reform Bill diminishes the number.

Secondly—The Irish Bill creates too high and too aristocratic a franchise in the Irish towns and cities; it alters the present law to the prejudice of the people and in favour of the oligarchy.

Thirdly—Although the Irish Reform Bill destroys the individual and direct power of nomination in sixteen boroughs, it substitutes so exceedingly narrow a basis of franchise as effectually to render those boroughs close boroughs, and to make them liable to the most gross and profligate corruption.

Fourthly—It renders the registration of a vote almost impossible for any but a rich man, and thus deprives the middle and poorer classes of their votes. This is effectuated by complication of detail in the registry, and by the pressure of great delay and enormous expense.

Fifthly—It leaves the registry of the votes to a set of persons, who, taken in the aggregate, are, from want of sufficient aptitude, and also by reason of their zealous Tory principles, the most unfit to have that power.

Sixthly—It continues all the enormous expense of delays of contested elections; which in England, under your Reform

Bill, must be over in two or three days—but in Ireland, by our Reform Bill, may last full fifteen days as before.

Seventhly—The Irish Reform Bill does not give Ireland her due and fair proportion of representatives in Parliament.

Eightly—The Irish Reform Bill glaringly, and I may say gratuitously, insults the people of Ireland by giving an addition of only five members to all Ireland, while it allocates one out of the five to a single college—the College of Dublin; a College having already one member, without any adequate or just right to any representation.

Upon the whole, my decided and deliberate conviction is, that, with the exception of throwing open the representation of Belfast, Cork, Galway, and Dublin, the Irish Reform Bill will make matters worse than they are at present in Ireland with regard to the right and power of the people to choose representatives. In short, that it should be entitled, “An Act to restore the power of the Orange Ascendency in Ireland, and to enable that faction to trample with impunity on the friends of Reform and of constitutional freedom.”

Such is the plan matured at a third attempt by Mr. Stanley, for the Reform in Ireland. He is, I know, determined to persevere in his measure. I also know that he will be supported by all the Tories in the House, and by a vast and overpowering majority of the Whigs. Indeed, I have greatly to complain of the total disregard to Ireland—I believe I ought to call it contempt for Ireland—exhibited by the English Whigs and Reformers in Parliament, with some, and but few exceptions.

I proceed now to prove the truth of my assertion. I take up my eight heads of complaint *seriatim*; and if the Reformers of England and Scotland will condescend to read these Letters—for I must extend them to at least three or four—I pledge myself satisfactorily to demonstrate that every one of my objections is well-founded, and that the Irish Reform Bill is a Reform Bill only in name—that it is a practical blunder, such as Irishmen never commit—that while it purports to reform, it renders matters worse; and, in short, that it is one of those base

delusions which could originate only in the brazen audacity and cold heart of an English Tory, who found himself placed in the attitude of an English Whig, with control over the present fortunes of unfortunate, long oppressed, much insulted, but, thank heaven, no longer weak or powerless Ireland.

My first complaint is, "that Stanley's Reform Bill for Ireland ought to augment, but will, in fact, diminish the number of voters in Irish counties."

Now the great principle of the English Reform, as, indeed, of all reforms is, "enfranchisement"—that is, to increase the number of voters. The principle of the Irish Reform Bill is disfranchisement—that is, to diminish the number of voters. This principle of disfranchisement, I must say, is not confined to counties. I shall show, before I have done, that it applies to some of our boroughs.

This complaint is still more strong than any Englishman not acquainted with the details of Irish affairs could possibly conceive; and for this reason—when the veracious Wellington and candid Peel were compelled by the people of Ireland to concede religious freedom to the Protestant Dissenters of England and Catholics of Ireland, they exerted a vicious ingenuity to make that concession as little valuable to popular liberty as possible. Accordingly, they annihilated—they totally annihilated the 40s. franchise in Ireland, not only where it depended on a freehold of a life or lives subject to a heavy rent, and therefore capable of being abused, but also where it arose from a fee-simple estate, not subject to any rent whatsoever.

This was not all: they raised the franchise to what is an enormously high valuation in a poor country—that is, to ten pounds annual value over rent and charges; and that, I repeat, in a very poor country, where ten pounds a year is certainly of three times the importance of that sum in this country. But even this was not all: they rendered actual residence and occupation of the entire freehold—mark, of the entire freehold—necessary to constitute a vote. But even this was not all: they super-added a most tedious, vexatious, expensive, and, in many

instances, totally impracticable mode of registry of voters, as a preliminary to the right of voting.

I wish to dwell upon this point, that the British Reformers may clearly comprehend how outrageously unjust it is still to augment the difficulties in the way of the right to vote in Ireland; and still further, positively and directly, to diminish the number of Irish voters in Irish counties.

I will illustrate the atrocious working of the Peel-Wellington Disfranchising Bill by some instances of its practical operation. Most of these instances are taken from the counties in which the Orange interest prevails. For example:—

In Armagh there were 8,419 voters on 40s. franchise. These were replaced by 1,087 £10 voters—that is, seven-eighths were annihilated. In Cavan, 5,195 replaced by 781; in Down 10,775 replaced by 1,902; in Donegal, 2,310 replaced by only 66; in Dublin county, the metropolitan county, 2,490 replaced by 109; in Londonderry, 4,457 replaced by 839; in Monaghan, 12,452 replaced by 946; in Mayo, 23,672 replaced by 335; Roscommon, 7,777 replaced by 470; Sligo, 4,551 replaced by 303; in Tyrone, 6,468 replaced by 701; in Galway, 3,205 replaced by 1,812.

I need not continue the catalogue. These numbers show that the Peel-Wellington measure took, in twelve counties in Ireland, their votes from 110,612 voters, and replaced them by only 9,351. Thus, in little more than one-third of that country, destroying the franchise to the extent of more than 100,000 voters. The results of the lists of voters in the remaining counties would be found not to differ materially from those I have above enumerated.

I now appeal to every honest and candid Reformer in Great Britain, whether the first step to a real and not mock or delusive Reform in Ireland should not be to increase, not diminish, the franchise. Many of our counties were reduced to the station of close boroughs. The popular rights were nearly destroyed. If Stanley intended to give us Reform—real Reform, honest Reform—would not his first effort be to increase the franchise,

to augment the voters, and to give, at least, a reasonable portion of the people a voice in the choice of representatives?

Judge, then, honest and manly Reformers of Great Britain, of the grief and indignation with which your equally honest and determined brother Reformers in Ireland receive the Stanley Reform Bill, the operation of which is not to augment, but still further to diminish the number of our county voters.

Reflect on this, which is the literal and plain fact, that the Tories contrived, under the shadow of the Catholic Relief Bill, to render as oligarchical, as close, and, of course, as corrupt as they possibly could all the Irish counties, and that the only county reform to be given us by Stanley is to make those counties more oligarchical, more close, and, therefore, more liable to corruption.

Let any one of you after this ask, why is Ireland discontented? Why is Ireland disturbed? Alas! do you not perceive the principle on which Whigs and Tories, with indiscriminate recklessness, govern Ireland?—the principle of never doing us, in any instance, justice, lest we should become so strong as to be able to put an end to our other oppressions.

What I assert, and insist on, is—that the Irish Reform Bill ought to augment the franchise and increase the number of voters in our counties, as the English and Scotch Reform Bills have augmented the one and increased the other. It would be unjust to leave us stationary when the other parts of the empire increase the quantity of human freedom. It is doubly unjust to leave us stationary while we are suffering under a recent and most iniquitous diminution of our franchise, and when there is an increase in the other divisions of the empire. But it transcends in injustice, when the other parts of the empire are augmented in franchise, to have an actual diminution take place in Ireland. No country in the world was ever treated so badly by an unnative Government as Ireland has been by the Government of England. I could demonstrate that Poland had never so much reason to complain of Russia, nor Greece of the Turks but I confess that the conduct of this reforming Administration

towards Ireland fills me with more of resentment than all the past.

Reformers of Great Britain, you have no interest in Ireland being ill-governed. On the contrary, your interest is, that we should be well-governed and prosperous. I, therefore, but much more readily, relying on your generous sympathies, appeal to you from the injustice and insult now offered us.

Recollect that there will be by your Reform Bill the following rights of suffrage—the following franchises established in England:—

1. The franchise of 40s. freeholders for a life or lives. This franchise requires occupation of the freehold by the freeholder.

2. The franchise of 40s. freeholders in fee-simple. This franchise is to continue in England, and does not require actual occupation.

3. The franchise of £10, clear yearly value for any freehold estate, whether for life or in fee. This franchise does not require actual occupation by the freeholder.

4. The franchise of similar value to copyholders. This franchise is, for the first time, given by the English Reform Bill, and introduces a numerous class of new voters.

5. The original lessee, or the assignee of a term originally of at least sixty years, of the clear yearly value of £10. This is a new franchise, and does not require actual occupation.

6. The original lessee, or the assignee of a term originally of at least twenty years, of the clear yearly value of £50. This is a new franchise, and does not require actual occupation.

7. The sub-lessee or assignee of a sub-lease of a term not less, originally, than sixty years, with a clear profit of £10. This is a new franchise, but requires actual occupation. It is the first franchise in England which is encumbered by the necessity of actual occupation.

8. The sub-lessee or assignee of a sub-lease of a term not less, originally, than twenty years, of the clear annual value of £50. This is a new franchise, but it requires actual occupation.

9. Any tenant whatsoever, liable to a *bona fide* rent of £50 a-year. This is a new franchise, and requires actual occupation.

Such is to be the state of the elective franchise in England. It consists altogether of nine different classes of voters, and is an augmentation of former rights by no less than seven classes, and some of these classes are multitudinous in their nature—that is, capable of giving rights of voting to many individuals out of one property. How melancholy and miserable is the contrast which the state of Ireland is destined to afford.

In Ireland we are to have but four classes of voters:—

First—The existing one, a freehold of £10, clear annual value. This franchise requires actual occupation.

Second—The existing right of freehold of £20, clear annual value. This does not require actual occupation.

Third—The lessee or assignee of a term of originally not less than fourteen years, of the clear yearly value of £20. This is a new franchise, and does not require actual occupation.

Fourth—The sub-lessee or assignee of a sub-lease of a term of not less, originally, than fourteen years, of the clear annual value of £20. This is a new franchise, and requires actual occupation.

These are all; and thus England has at present two franchises, and acquires by the Reform Bill seven additional franchises. Ireland has at present two franchises, and acquires by the Reform Bill only two more.

England, a rich country, has two franchises of 40s., multitudinous in their nature, and only one requiring actual occupation; four franchises of £10, one only of which requires actual occupation; besides two franchises of £50 annual value, one only of which requires actual occupation; and one franchise of mere payment of £50 a-year rent.

Mark the contrast with Ireland: Ireland, a poor country has no 40s. franchise, has only one £10 franchise, and even that franchise requires actual occupation. Ireland has then but three franchises of the enormous value to us of £20 annual value, and one of these three requires actual occupation.

To put this matter in a still more clear point of view: let me take in England a single estate worth £50 a-year, and in the hands of an occupying tenant who pays that rent for it. Now, such a property as that could, in England, qualify no less than twenty-six persons to vote; while, in Ireland, such a property could not possibly qualify more than three persons to vote.

Thus, then, the English are to have the advantage, and I heartily rejoice at it, of seven new classes of voters; of nine classes in all. Ireland is to have but four classes, two only being new classes—that is, in new classes, the English Bill is to the Irish as seven to two; in classes generally, as nine to four. But this approximation in the general classes, is proved to be quite delusive when you recollect that, in point of valued property, England has an advantage equal to twenty-six against three, or more than eight to one.

Thus, in new franchise, the English Bill is seven to two better than the Irish. In popular character, as arising from property, it is more than eight, very nearly nine, to one better than the Irish Bill; and, let it always be recollected, that this difference is enormously aggravated by the fact, that Ireland is beyond comparison the less wealthy country.

Let me not be misunderstood—I do not in the least desire to diminish the advantages which England possesses. On the contrary, I say it with the utmost sincerity, my ardent desire would be to augment these advantages. I am a Radical Reformer, and, on principle, think every Englishman ought to have a right to vote. I quote, therefore, the advantages of the English Reform Bill, and they are very great, only to show how defectively the Irish Bill is, as I firmly believe, wilfully and designedly, made.

This letter has run into such length, that I must pause, and reserve the residue of this my first complaint for another letter.

I have hitherto confined my attention to show the necessity that exists to augment the number of voters in our counties, and to prove that no sensible augmentation can take place under

the Irish Reform Bill. I have shown that, to us, insulting contrast of the increase of franchises and of voters given to England. In my next letter I will prove that the practical effect of the Irish Bill will be to diminish the number of voters, although an increase is so imperatively required by every principle of justice and common sense.

Reformers of Great Britain, recollect that we have honestly and zealously stood by you in the contest for Reform. When your Reform Bill was in danger, we flung overboard our own grievances and our first resentments—nay, more: had Wellington found any set of men mad enough to join him in attempting to govern the country to the exclusion of Earl Grey, and had a resort been made to Polignac ordinances instead of Acts of Parliament, you would have found your constitutional liberties supported by one million of Irishmen in arms, true to your sacred cause to the last of their blood and their breath. British Reformers, do not we deserve your peaceable but determined assistance to compel the Administration and to induce the Parliament to give us a Reform Bill equally satisfactory with that of England or Scotland?

I have the honour to be,

Your faithful servant,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

TO THE REFORMERS OF GREAT BRITAIN.

LETTER II.

"This is essentially a Conservative measure."—*Speech of Crampton, Solicitor-General for Ireland, on the Second Reading of the Irish Reform Bill.*

London, May 29, 1832.

BROTHER REFORMERS—Look to my motto—see how it has verified my worst fears. The candid, but indiscreet, avowal of the Irish law officer, by whose hand the Irish Reform Bill was drawn up, placed beyond a doubt the real intentions of the Irish Government, and the real nature of the Irish Reform Bill.

It is a "Conservative measure," English Reformers; mark that, I must earnestly implore you. If you have any sympathy for Ireland; if you regret her wrongs, and the complicated injustice which she has for centuries endured at the hands of the British Government, and which she never endured with more of harshness and of contumely than from the Anglesey-Stanley Administration, now inflicted on that unhappy country; if, I repeat, you have sympathy for her sufferings, or indignation at the injustice done and intended towards Ireland, rouse, I entreat you, now, and rescue us from the fatal effects of this "Conservative measure." How I thank the Solicitor-General for the word!!!

Shall I despair of co-operation from the British Reformers? Alas, I fear that the complaints of the miseries inflicted on Ireland, and of the insults now offered her, will fall on the dull, cold ear of British apathy, as the complaints and groans of former periods have wasted themselves in useless attempts to rouse attention and to procure redress.

I, however, shall have done my duty; and although I *may*

do it here in vain, I am not without resources ; nor shall any sickness of the heart come over me. I am one of those who have taught the "hereditary bondsmen" of Ireland, that they who contend for freedom must principally rely on their own exertions.

I return with heaviness and sorrow to the Irish Reform Bill, and proceed to justify Mr. Crampton, and to show how well that Bill merits the appellation he gave it of a "Conservative measure."

In my first letter, after stating the eight distinct topics of great magnitude on which the Irish Reform Bill falls glaringly short of the rights and privileges which Reform will give to England and to Scotland, I proceeded to develop the first of them—that which related to the most important of all—namely, the extension of the elective franchise.

It will be recollected, that I insisted that Ireland had peculiar claims for a great extension of franchise, on account, principally, of the gross injustice inflicted on her, in the spoliation of that right by the Wellington-Peel Administration.

Let me remind my readers that I showed, by a reference to twelve counties only, that the votes in these counties were diminished by the Wellington-Peel measure, from 110,612 to the comparatively small number of 9,351. I produced the details, in order to justify the conclusion that the reduction of voters was equally great all over the entire country. I owe to myself to add that Mr. Stanley, in his speech on the second reading of the Irish Reform Bill, has shown that I have understated the argument and underrated the calculation of my own prejudice ; for he distinctly admitted that the £10 voters who replaced the 40s. freeholders did not exceed 20,000.

Now, the 40s. freeholders were admitted to be more than 200,000.

This, therefore, may be taken as a conceded and undoubted truth, that we come to the consideration of the Irish Reform Bill with the fact unquestioned and unquestionable that Ireland has recently suffered this injustice—namely, that

her voters have been diminished from 200,000 to 20,000—a sacrifice at once of no less a number than 180,000 voters!!!

Add to this, that England, where the voters are not for the present diminished in anything—I mean in counties—gets seven additional classes of voters, and Ireland gets only two classes.

I refer to my former letter for these details. I mention them now only to show how imperative it is in point of justice, honesty, and common sense, to give Ireland an increase of franchise.

I have, however, asserted, and I will soon proceed to prove that the Irish Reform Bill, instead of increasing, as it plainly ought, our county electors, actually diminishes their number!!!

Let me, before I go into that proof, place the injustice done to Ireland in another and, I think, a striking point of view. I complain with the more bitterness of lessening our county voters, because England gets a very great addition to her county voters, and Scotland gets an enormous increase to hers.

England, as I have already shown, in addition to her present two classes of voters, gets seven multitudinous new classes. Scotland profits still more extensively in the change. Her present county voters do not exceed 1,100; her new county constituency will exceed 30,000. This fact I have from the men in Scotland best suited to ascertain its perfect accuracy. I do not hesitate, therefore, to pledge myself to its truth. Scotland multiplies her county voters by nearly thirty times her present number. She has 1,100; she gets more than 30,000.

But, if such be the case of England, as it certainly is, with her voters multiplied by at least four, and if such be the case of Scotland, with her voters multiplied by thirty, what ought to be the case of Ireland? I ask whether I am unreasonable when I say that Ireland ought to have her voters multiplied, not by thirty—I do not ask that—but at least by four. I do ask and insist on that addition.

But, in point of fact, the number of county votes is to be diminished by the Irish Reform Bill. I proceed to prove the truth of this assertion.

I take up, in order to avoid all cavil or dispute, the calculations made by Mr. Stanley himself. I will do nothing more than correct these calculations where they are manifestly and beyond controversy mistaken—mistaken, not wilfully, on his part, but by reason of his ignorance of the details.

Mr. Stanley calculated the Irish voters thus: £50 freeholders at 22,000, and he is borne out by the Parliamentary returns; £20 freeholders at 9,000, and he is also borne out by the Parliamentary returns; and £10 freeholders at 20,000, and he is borne out by the Parliamentary returns.

This would give for Ireland 52,000 voters, and so Mr. Stanley stated it. But 52,000, in a population of eight millions, is exceedingly small. However, I do not rest for the present on this point. I proceed to show the error in Mr. Stanley's calculations, though it is drawn, I admit, from Parliamentary returns.

Let me just allow that the calculation of £10 freeholders is accurate; there are of them 20,000 in round numbers. But the returns show the £50 freeholders to be 22,000 in round numbers, and the £20 freeholders to be 9,000, making together 31,000.

Here lies Mr. Stanley's mistake; he did not know that the reason of the accuracy of the return of the £10 voters is, that it comprises a space of only three years, and, therefore, that the list of casualties is small; few have died off in that period; few have disposed of their freeholds. But the return of the £50 freeholders comprises the space of forty-one years, beginning so long ago as the year 1790, and including grandfathers and fathers, as well as persons of the present generation; in short, including many who were dead ten, twenty, thirty, and more years.

The return of £20 freeholders is pretty much in the same predicament; it goes back in all cases eight years, and in many to the year 1795. It includes a multitude of persons who have been dead many years. The practical result of the late elections has been, that the £50 and £20 voters have never been found to equal one-sixth of the number of names on the registry-roll; not near one-sixth, in many cases; perhaps, not one-ninth. I,

who have been elected for three counties, can speak with confidence on this subject. We shall now see what the amount of voters in Ireland is by taking up Mr. Stanley's calculations, corrected only where his ignorance of Irish subjects makes that correction necessary :

The ultimate and accurate result will be thus :—

Of £10 freeholders,	20,000.
Of £50 and £20, less than one-sixth of 31,000; say one-sixth of 30,000,	5,000.

Total registered voters in Ireland, 25,000

But to this is to be added a formidable list of voters of another description—namely, the clergymen of the Established Church, who have a right to vote out of their benefices. They amount to, at the lowest computation, 1,100; but, as I take everything in the most unfavourable way to my argument, I will write them down only 1,000; making altogether for Ireland, 26,000 voters; of whom, however, four per cent. are parsons—men who, with very, very few exceptions, vote for anti-Reformers, Tories and Orangeists.

This, then, is the state of Ireland at present. There are 26,000 voters, of whom 1,000 are violent enemies of popular rights and liberties.

These 26,000 are all that are entitled to vote out of a population of seven millions. I will show presently why I say seven millions.

When the Union was established between England and Ireland, the representation of the latter was based on a franchise which was, in 1829, found to comprise near 220,000 voters of all classes. If Ireland now got, as England gets, seven new classes of voters, surely our voters ought to be 370,000, at the least. Lord Althorpe has repeatedly declared that the new franchise given to England would bring in half-a-million of new voters. Of these, take but 300,000 for the counties; then the case would stand thus:—The English counties, as compared with the Irish, in point of population, appear, by the returns of

1821, to be as twelve to seven, but take them to be as twelve to six. Observe, now, I sink and diminish the case of Ireland in every instance, that no man should by possibility say I am unreasonable; but taking it to be six to twelve, instead of seven to twelve, yet England getting 300,000 new votes in her counties, Ireland ought to get 150,000, which being added to her former 220,000, on the basis of the Union, would give her 370,000 county voters.

Mark, British Reformer!—honest British Reformer!—that Ireland has but 26,000 voters instead of 370,000, an injustice to the extent of 344,000 voters. But what ought to be my sensations of disgust and indignation, when I know, as I shall prove, that the 26,000 existing voters, instead of being increased by the Reform Bill, are to be actually diminished?

Take this injustice in another point of view: Scotland, with a population of only 2,365,807, has an agricultural population, certainly not exceeding one million and a-half. The cities of Edinburgh and Glasgow alone have—the former, 162,156, and the latter, 202,426 inhabitants, making together 364,582. I do not, therefore, underrate the agricultural population of Scotland at one million and a-half.

Now, the exceedingly defective and avowedly partial enumeration of Ireland gives a return of 7,734,365 inhabitants.

In the almost total failure of trade and manufactures in Ireland, I am confident no man will accuse me of exaggerating the agricultural population of Ireland at seven millions.

Now, contrast Scotland, under the Reform Bill, with Ireland.

Scotland, for one million and a half of her inhabitants, will have a constituency of 30,000 voters.

Ireland, for seven millions of her inhabitants, will have a constituency not exceeding, as I shall presently show, 25,000 voters. I implore every man who values justice and fair dealing, to look at that picture, and at this: If we were Scotch, we should have 140,000 voters; we are Irish, and we are allowed, in all, only 25,000.

If we were English, we should get 150,000 additional voters

—that is, mark, 150,000 in addition to 220,000. We do not get one additional voter, because we are Irish—not one. Nay, our present number is to be diminished.

Follow me in this last point, and I think I will make it demonstration that this Bill will diminish the votes in our counties. Thus, at present, every qualified person, in twenty-five boroughs, having representatives in Parliament are entitled to vote in county elections; they are so entitled, whether they have votes for the borough representatives or not. These county voters are persons in trade, or of independent means, residing in the towns, and are, beyond any comparison, the most patriotic and liberal portion of the constituency; they were, and are, Whigs and Reformers almost to a man; they are, accordingly, to be struck out of the county constituency by the Conservative measure of the Irish Reform Bill.

Let me, for example, take my own county—the county of Kerry. The £10 registered voters in my county are only 178, and of the voters, more than 80 are in the town of Tralee. These 80 voters will be struck out of the county by the Irish Reform Bill, and thus the county constituency, in its popular shape, will be reduced to 99!!!

In the county of Clare, there will be a loss in the town of Ennis of near 100 voters to the county. In the county of Cork, the county will lose the independent voters of Mallow, Bandon, Kinsale, and Youghal. Tipperary will lose the voters of Cashel and Clonmel. In short, in twenty-five towns, voters, on an average of at least the number of a hundred in each town, will be lost to the independent county interests. I understate the loss of the entire at 2,500 annual voters.

On the other hand, there will of course be some increase, by reason of the two new classes of chattel voters. But taking all Ireland, as it really is, at 25,000 freehold votes, I defy any man seriously to assert, that the chattel voters will, at £20, clear profit (for that is the qualification) amount to 1,250. Yet I will go beyond any possible exaggeration, and I will suppose the chattel voters will amount to 1,500. Yet, as the counties

lose on the borough towns 2,500 voters, as I have already shown, it will have an ultimate loss of county voters, amounting to 1,000, on a total of 26,000; reducing our county constituency to only 25,000.

Of these 25,000, full 1,000 will be beneficed clergymen—leaving all Ireland but 24,000 county voters—and the clergy of the Established Church four per cent. on the entire.

Yes, this is indeed a Conservative measure. It places Ireland in a state of degradation and contumely, not to be thought of without pain and disgust. Scotland changes the county constituency from 1,100 fictitious voters to 30,000 real and substantial voters.

England adds 300,000 to her county voters, whilst Ireland, struck down by Wellington and Peel to 26,000 county voters, receives, for her only consolation, a shifting of scenery, and a real and substantial diminution of 1,000 county voters.

I confess I cannot bear this injustice; it exceeds my endurance; but I will not waste my breath in idle anger. In the first place I appeal to the Reformers of Great Britain. In the House of Commons, the Reformers have little sympathy for us Irish—plenty of lip service; but, upon every division, vote with the ministry for the restriction of the Irish right of suffrage, and against us. We will struggle to the last to obtain for Ireland as good a Bill as is to be immediately the law in England. Against Ireland the ministers will command many, very many, of the Whigs, and all the Tories, to the last man.

In conclusion, I demand those things for Ireland; I refuse to accept, with satisfaction, anything less; I will take any instalment of public liberty, but I will not release one particle of my entire claim.

I ask for the counties of Ireland these franchises:—

First—The restriction of the 40s. franchise in fee, and perpetual freeholder.

I ask this franchise, because it is preserved and made perpetual in England.

Second—I ask for Ireland, that the £10 franchise, on terminable freeholds, should be reduced in Ireland from a £10 qualification to one £7 annual value—£7 in Ireland being a larger qualification relatively to all the necessities of life than £10 in England.

Thirdly—I demand a similar £7 franchise in Ireland in chattel leases of fourteen years, being the usual occupation tenure on extensive tracts in Ireland, and that term being recognised in the Act relative to the qualification of Deputy Lieutenants in Ireland, and also in the Irish Reform Bill.

Fourthly—I demand that no freeholder in towns should be disfranchised in the counties of which such towns have been and are parts. No town in Ireland gets a member either original or additional. Why should the existing right be taken away? This was one of the principles of representation on which the Union was formed. Why should it now be unjustly, as well as capriciously taken away? The Reform Bill will be both unjust and insulting if it interferes with this right. On behalf of the people of Ireland, I respectfully, but firmly, insist on its continuance.

Reformers of Great Britain, we deserve your co-operation. We seek nothing but what is just and reasonable; we will not be content with less. If Stanley's Conservative measure is carried, the people of Ireland, wounded in their just pride, and affected in their national interest, will feel it necessary to counteract Stanley's plans of oligarchy by increased and continued agitation and excitement. In short, we will not be insulted and done injustice to with impunity.

Reformers of Great Britain, it is not to you, but in aid of your liberties, that we make those declarations, which may be called threats. We ask your aid; we deserve your good will. We have stood by you, and we are ready again to share your battle; but we should not deserve your co-operation, if

we did not feel a confidence of ultimate, and, perhaps, more complete success by our own means, and from our own resources.

Aid us, then, because we deserve your aid.

I have the honour to be, Brother Reformers,

Your most faithful servant,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

TO THE REFORMERS OF GREAT BRITAIN.

LETTER III.

"This is essentially a Conservative measure."—*Crampton, Solicitor-General for Ireland.*

London, May 31, 1832.

BROTHER REFORMERS—I proceed in the painful task of developing the injurious and insulting nature of the Reform Bill intended for Ireland.

Of the eight objections which I stated to that Bill, I have already fully canvassed but one. It was that which related to the franchise in counties at large.

I undertook to show, and I have shown, that—"Whilst the English Reform Bill greatly enlarged the elective franchise in the English counties, and the Scotch Bill exceedingly increased that franchise in Scotch counties, the Irish Reform Bill does not increase the county franchise at all; but, on the contrary, diminishes the number of county voters."

The abstract of my argument is fit to be repeated. It is this: England acquires for her counties at least 300,000 additional voters; Ireland will acquire no increase. Scotland converts her 1,100 fictitious and parchment county voters into 30,000 substantial voters; Ireland actually diminishes the number of her county voters.

I attempted to calculate the amount of diminution. I estimated it at 1,000—that is, Ireland, having at present 26,000 voters, I draw this inference, that there will be a diminution of 1,000. I draw that inference, rather from local knowledge than from Parliamentary documents. Nay, the Parliamentary documents are framed more to weaken my calculation of the precise amount of loss than to confirm it. But the maps which would point out the errors in those documents are not as yet printed.

It is, therefore, impossible for me to be certain as to the intended contents of each of our future boroughs, particularly whether or not they comprise entire parishes, or only portions of parishes.

Under these circumstances, I prefer running a risk of inaccuracy, and I, therefore, abandon the calculation I had made of an absolute loss of 1,000 voters, and leave the amount of the diminution of voters unascertained. It must be large, because no less than twenty-five towns are to be deducted from our county constituency. Yet, as the exact loss is disputations, I consent to give Mr. Stanley this advantage, namely, that it may be smaller than I have stated it. But, at all events, it must be considerable.

This result, however, is inevitable, that whilst Ireland, with an agricultural population of seven millions, is to have a constituency of only 26,000 voters, Scotland, with an agricultural population of only one million and a-half, is to have a county constituency of 30,000 voters.

Having dismissed the county constituency, I now proceed to that of the cities, towns, and boroughs. My assertion is, and this is my second objection to Stanley's Bill—"That the Irish Reform Bill creates too high and too aristocratic a franchise in the Irish towns and cities. It alters the present law to the prejudice of the people, and in favour of the oligarchy.

I proceed to prove this my second objection. To perceive the force of my proofs, it is necessary to understand the present situation of our boroughs.

They consist of eight cities and towns that are counties of themselves, and twenty-five towns that are now portions of the surrounding counties.

Of these, the eight first are what, under the existing system, may well be called open places. Of the twenty-five boroughs, ten, and only ten, are pure nomination boroughs, by means of their original constitution. Eight more have become nominal boroughs by mere usurpation, having been originally free; and seven are, or rather ought to be, open and free. There is, be-

sides these, one other, the rottenest and worst of the entire—the College of Dublin.

In the open boroughs in Ireland are to be found, at present, a constituency, not exactly the same in all, but between them are to be found a constituency of this description in the following classes :—

1. Freeholders of 40s. and upwards in fee.
2. Freeholders of 40s. for terminable freeholds.
3. Freemen by birth, servitude, or marriage.
4. Freemen by grace especial.
5. Householdors of £5 annual value.

Now these five classes are to be swept away by the Reform Bill ! that is, they are to be allowed to drop off until the entire shall be extinct, and in their place there is to be substituted an immediate and continuous franchise of householdors of £10 annual value.

The five classes which belong to the operative and humble classes are to be extinguished, and the higher and more aristocratic right is alone to remain. The £10 franchise, besides, is far too high for our towns. Let any man only think that this £10 qualification is that which is to subsist in London, and also in Portarlington, and also in Ennis. Is it not plain that the class of persons who thus will have a right of voting in London (and nobody rejoices more at the extent to which it is carried in London than I do), but is it not plain that the right in London will extend to the poorer classes, whilst in Portarlington, Ennis, Kinsale, &c., &c., the occupiers of £10 houses excluded the poorer classes, and are, beyond any comparison, of a more wealthy, at least comparatively wealthy class ? The £10 house franchise shuts out from the right of voting very few in London. It will shut out from that right nearly four-fifths of the inhabitants of the smaller towns in Ireland.

But why should the £5 householdors be disfranchised ? Had this been an enfranchising, that is, really a Reform Bill, would it strike off the ancient rights of the £5 householdors, to substitute the more narrow right of £10 householders ? Why

does this Reform Bill at once double the amount of the qualification? It would operate in directly the reverse manner if it were really a Reform Bill. It is, therefore, idle to call it anything else than a "Conservative"—that is, an Anti-Reform measure.

Alas for Ireland! How little of sympathy or support does she obtain from English Reformers. Here is a Bill purporting to increase our popular privileges. It strikes off five popular rights. It takes the highest of the pecuniary qualifications in these rights, and it doubles that qualification; and then Stanley says that this is a Reform Bill; and the Reformers of England are satisfied with his high and haughty dictation, and leave us to our own fate.

But I persevere—I continue to demonstrate the iniquity of treating Ireland thus. I stop to point out some of the atrocious consequences. Take Downpatrick; the present number of resident voters is 493; the Reform Bill will reduce the number to 220: that is, by way of reforming Downpatrick. Mr. Stanley strikes off at a single blow more than one-half of the resident voters. He strikes off 273, leaving only 220. At Newry, he reduces the resident voters from 935 to 700; only 235 struck off. In Mallow, he finds a constituency of 524, whereupon, by way of reform, he reduces them to 200. In Dungarvan, he finds 871 voters, and he reforms them, by his usual process of reduction, to 210, striking off no less than 661.

Now, this is called a Reform Bill for Ireland!! and it is thus that the honest Irish Reformers are to be treated by the contemptuous iniquity of the Irish side of the British ministry.

Having thus established my second objection, and shown that the Irish Reform Bill is, in our towns and cities, a mere filching of the rights of the humbler classes, in order to vest the power of election in an exclusive and excluding oligarchy, I proceed to my third objection:—

That, although the Irish Reform Bill takes away the direct power of nomination in from ten to eighteen boroughs, yet it substitutes so narrow a basis of representation, as effectually to

render those boroughs close boroughs, liable to the most gross and profligate corruption.

Let it be borne in mind, that the only permanent franchise in our towns is to be the £10 house franchise.

In a poor country, like Ireland, this is an enormously high rate of franchise. I have already observed on the difference between £10 in London and £10 in Tralee. They are, to be sure, the same in nominal and legal amount; but, the man with an income of £10 a-year in London, is next to a pauper. With such an income in Tralee or Ennis, he is in rather comfortable circumstances. But I do not leave the matter in theory, I come to the practical working of the mock Reform Bill.

Under the new Bill, the permanent constituency of Athlone, for instance, is set down in the Parliamentary Return as arising from 220 houses. Now as, amongst the occupiers of such houses, there will be of course women and minors, it is not too little to take off ten per cent., so as to find the actual returns—thus, Athlone will have but 198 voters. Bandon has 240 houses to confer votes; there will, on this scale, be only 226 voters. Cashel, on a similar calculation, will have about 180 voters; Coleraigne, 170 voters; Dungannon, only 145 voters; Portarlinton, 167 voters!

Let this paucity of voters but be looked at, and then let me ask, whether this is not just the species of constituency most exposed to corruption? In England, fatal experience has shown that the most profligate bribery and corruption have prevailed in boroughs ranging from 150 to 250 voters. This number, however, is to be the Reform constituency in very many towns in Ireland. In such boroughs as these, the briber has only to buy a simple majority. He then commands his return. Three or four thousand pounds will, therefore, command the return after the Reform, as it does under the present system—with this deplorable difference, that at present the transaction of the sale of these boroughs is one of great comparative innocence. It is simply a sale between two individuals: the one merely pays his money, and the other merely

fills up on parchment a return to Parliament duly signed; and so the business closes. There is neither riot, drunkenness, perjury, or other immorality, save the sale of the right of legislation. But in the half open boroughs, it is quite different. The voter must get liquor as well as money. Liquor for weeks, perhaps months, before the election. Then, there is the direct bribery, and then there is the Bribery Oath!

But I will not go further. I will simply taunt the High Church Stanley. I will ask him, is this your Protestantism? Is this your veneration for religion? How can you dare to call that a Reform, which, while it takes away from one individual the unlawful power to name a legislator, throws before one hundred the strongest temptations to make that nomination, through the horrible and God-offending means of drunkenness, bribery and soul-destroying perjury?

Stanley, you are warned. On you there will be the guilt of opening the door of crime, unless you consent honestly to enlarge the town constituency. But there is one way to dissipate the temptation, and to counteract the tendency of this Reform Bill. It is by rousing the higher impulses of patriotism and virtue; and this, I inform Stanley, we will do in Ireland. It will be necessary, to be sure, to continue public excitement, and to increase the resources of patriotic agitation. Excite and agitate we will, because it will be our bounden duty thus to shut out bribery and perjury.

Yet what a statesman is this Stanley, who leaves us no other alternative, but either to submit to the consequences of public corruption, or to keep alive that higher tone of political feeling, which it is often difficult to manage, and oft times dangerous to attempt to control.

Lord Grey ought to understand, that the people of Ireland are as determined to insist on, and to exercise, constitutional privileges, as the people—the triumphant people—of England. Let him reflect on this question—whether it would not be better to allow the Irish to enjoy those privileges in the quietude of the ordinary tide of affairs, rather than to make it

necessary for them to raise the storm of political passions, in order to enforce and secure that enjoyment?

I have now to observe, that in few of the towns in England is there to be any diminution of the existing resident voters. In many of the towns in Ireland there is to be great reduction of resident voters—and this by what is called a Reform Bill!!!

I have next to observe, that in all the borough towns in Scotland an immense increase will take place in the resident voters.

Alas for poor Ireland! Behold the melancholy, the heart-sickening contrast in Ireland—there is in many towns to be a great diminution of resident voters!!!—and this by what is called a Reform Bill!!!

Why—why, in the name of common sense, not send Lord Anglesey as Governor-General to India, and make Stanley Commander-in-Chief of the Army! He is really more fit for that than for Ireland.

I conclude, by stating my demands on behalf of the Irish people, with regard to our cities and towns.

I demand, then, these franchises:—

First—The perpetuation of the franchises of all resident freemen, entitled to their freedom as of right, by birth, servitude, or marriage.

I ask for this franchise because it is in substance preserved in the English borough towns, and is reasonable in itself.

Secondly—I ask that, in our towns and cities, being counties in themselves, the occupying freeholders in fee, or perpetual freeholders of 40s. and upwards, should be preserved as they are in England.

Thirdly—I ask that in such towns and cities—that is, being counties in themselves—the £20 freeholders, though not occupying, should be allowed to vote.

Fourthly—In the towns, not being counties in themselves, occupying freeholders of 40s., seized in fee, or of perpetual freehold, should be allowed to retain, as in England, the elective franchise.

Fifthly—I ask, that the occupiers of houses of £5, annual value, instead of £10, should be allowed to vote. This is the old, long recognised right of householder suffrage in Irish towns. It ought not to be destroyed, or infringed upon; and, least of all, should it be wantonly destroyed by a Bill, purporting to be a Reform Bill.

There is only one alteration more that I seek in this section of the Reform Bill—it is, that it should not annihilate the right of any freeholder in towns, not being counties of themselves, to vote for the county at large. This right at present exists only in occupying freeholds of £10 clear value, and in all freeholders of £20 and upwards, clear value. Why should their rights be destroyed under the pretence—the false pretence—of a Reform?

Reformers of England—recollect that I have thus demonstrated these two things :—

First—Stanley's Reform Bill will keep the constituency of all the counties in Ireland (having an agricultural population of at least seven millions) as low as about 26,000 voters; and this while England greatly increases her county constituency; and Scotland, for a million and a half of agricultural population, will have 30,000 voters—that is, Scotland will have about five times a greater relative number of county voters than Ireland, and England about twenty times a greater number. Is this just? Is this fair? Why are the people of Ireland to be thus insulted and outraged? Is it because Wellington and Peel most unjustly deprived the Irish people of one right, that Stanley shall be empowered by Earl Grey to perpetuate and increase the outrage; and, by contrast with England and Scotland, to add insult to injury?

Must not the Irish perceive—are we so stupid as not to perceive—that the giving an enlarged and liberal Reform to England, and an enlarged and liberal Reform to Scotland, and then flinging to Ireland a stingy, limited, restrictive, and almost mock Reform Bill, can originate only in one of two feelings—either a deliberate judgment that the people of Ireland are unfit

for, or unworthy of, equal constitutional privileges with the people of England and of Scotland; or a deliberate, base, contemptuous, insulting hatred of Ireland and of the Irish people?

Let Earl Grey and Mr. Stanley take their choice of these excuses. It is nearly immaterial to us whether they undervalue or despise us.

We are not disposed to submit to either injustice or contumely; we will not submit to either the one or the other.

Reformers of England, I say it not in vain boasting, much less in the spirit of mere vain threatening, but we are—we are eight millions—eight millions of brave but patient, resolute but combining beings—eight millions who already compelled Wellington and Peel to strike their ascendancy colours, and to liberate the Protestant Dissenters of England as well as the Catholics of Great Britain and Ireland, and that without violating any law, or injuring either person or property.

We are eight millions, who have again, peaceably and without violating any law, rendered abortive the tithe system, and set the example to Great Britain of each man paying only his own clergyman.

British Reformers, what is it we require? Why, nothing more than an equal measure of reform with England and Scotland. Shame upon the Irishman that would be content with less.

I have the honour to be, brother Reformers,

Your faithful servant,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

TO THE REFORMERS OF GREAT BRITAIN.

LETTER IV.

Parliament-street, June 8, 1832.

BROTHER REFORMERS—It is my duty to commence this letter, as I did my last, with a retraction of part of my former letters. I do so with a heavy heart.

I have said, and repeated more than once, that what the people of Ireland demand is a Reform Bill for Ireland, similar in its concessions of popular rights to that obtained by the people of England.

Alas! I was mistaken. I greatly exaggerated the extent of our demands. We do not ask for a Bill equivalent to the English Bill, or anything like it. We do not ask for the English franchises, or for anything near in extent or number to those of England. Ours is a beggarly solicitation of some feeble approach to the English Bill. We, with "bated breath" and humble demeanour, ask only a faint, a distant resemblance to the English Bill.

That Bill passed the House of Commons with great and extensive franchises newly bestowed on the people of England, but those franchises have since been much extended, and the right of voting enormously increased by the House of Lords.

This has been done in two ways—first, by perpetuating the right to vote of 40s. freeholders for terminable interests; and, secondly, by making the pecuniary qualification in almost all the new classes of franchise depend on the value of the estate, not on the income of the voter. Thus, if the freehold estate be of the value of £10 and 5s., there may be at least two voters qualified by that property—the one having an income of 5s., and the other of £10.

In fact, it is almost incalculable to what an extent the right of voting may be carried under the English Reform Bill, in pursuance of the amendments made in it by the House of Lords.

It is certainly somewhat singular that the popular franchises should have been rendered more extensive by the House of Lords than they were by the Commons. I hope it is not to be accounted for by this, that the franchises are rendered by the Lords so extensive and comprehensive as to give room for the creation of very many fictitious and paper voters.

I return from this digression to the Irish Reform Bill. I have already pointed out its gross, glaring, and contumelious defects with reference to the voters in Irish counties, cities, and boroughs. These defects were the subject of my three first objections to that Bill. The three next ensuing objections relate to the mode of registering voters, and of taking the poll in Ireland. I will postpone these for the present, and in this letter take up my seventh objection, and show its accuracy and force.

The seventh objection is, "That the Irish Reform Bill does not give Ireland her due and fair proportion of representatives."

The number of Irish members under the Irish Reform Bill is but one hundred and five, an increase of only five. Now, Wales, with a population of only 805,236, gets an increase of four members. Ireland, with a population of eight millions, gets an increase of only five. That is, in other words, eight hundred thousand Welshmen are within one-fifth of being as valuable as eight millions of Irishmen. We humbly thank the English ministry for this flattering compliment!!! And there are men who believe that the people of Ireland will tranquilly bury in oblivion an insult of this overgrown magnitude.

Again, Scotland, with a population of 2,365,807, gets an increase of eight members; Ireland with a population of eight millions gets an increase of only five. Who will condescend to take the trouble of calculating the exact ratio of insulting preference? Not I, truly. It is written with a pen of fire on hearts of adamant, and it will become legible in its own good time.

But this comparison is still more outrageous, more debasingly insulting, when we look at these relative proportions in another point of view. Wales has already twenty-four members. Wales obtains an additional one to every six. Scotland has already

forty-five members. Scotland obtains an addition of one to every five. Ireland has already one hundred members. Ireland obtains an addition of one to every twenty!!!

Mark—Scotland increases one to five; Wales, one to six; Ireland, one to twenty! And I, an Irishman, live to write all this—and to write it without one particle of hope of present redress.

I may, however, defy any person to point out, in the history of any country in the world, instances of such flagrant injustice—of such deep, studied, malignant contumely—I mean of any country in the world, Ireland alone excepted. But in Ireland, the instances are not few, nor rare, nor far between. They have been oft and oft repeated: from the treacherous massacre of Mullaghmast, where the Irish chieftains were invited to a feast, and assassinated as soon as they had laid aside their good swords, down to that eternal stain on English annals—the profligately disgraceful breach of the Treaty of Limerick. Yes, in the records of English domination in Ireland, there are many and many transactions of equal turpitude. I will not, therefore, accuse Stanley of more than he merits. He is only the administrator *de malis non*—the executor of the stored, and, as yet, unapplied malignant mischief, treasured up for future use by former chief governors, chief secretaries, and English managers of Ireland.

It may be said, that this invidious comparison might be, if not justified, at least palliated, on the ground that the former proportion of Irish members exceeded, or even equalled, what Ireland was fairly and justly entitled to. I do readily admit, that, if Ireland had already a more ample proportion, or even an exact proportion of members with Wales or Scotland, we should have little or no right to complain. But the fact is, unhappily, the other way. Ireland, instead of having a fair proportion of members at present, is already suffering great and unmerited injustice in that respect. The Union did not give her anything like a due number of representatives.

This will appear quite clear, if we look to the manner in which the representation of Ireland was managed at the Union

The parricide Castlereagh, a name ever odious to the Irish ear, settled the proportion of Irish members on a comparative ratio of population—exports, imports, and revenue, with England. The materials of his calculation were naturally exaggerated in favour of England, and understated for Ireland. This was to be expected; but even on his most unfavourable calculation the matter stood thus. He allowed Ireland—

For Population, . . .	202 members
Exports, . . .	100
Imports, . . .	93
Revenue, . . .	39
	<hr/>
	434

The mean of those four quantities being $108\frac{1}{4}$.

Such was Castlereagh's calculation, interested as he was to diminish, as much as possible, the rights of Ireland. It will be seen that he left out a most important ingredient, namely, comparative rental.

No matter! Let us take Castlereagh's own calculation. Thus it is—it gave Ireland, after all imaginable reductions of calculations, $108\frac{1}{4}$ members. Now I do not mean to quarrel about the half of an Irishman. But what did Castlereagh do? Why, without any plausible pretext, he at once, and without ceremony, cut down his own proved right, and struck off at once eight members, giving to Ireland only one hundred members. And why?—precisely, because he could and would. Nothing more. It was indeed—*Sic volo, sic jubeo, stat pro ratione voluntas*.

Mark—British Reformers—if anything Irish can command your attention—mark, I pray you, this fact:—That Ireland was, at the Union, spoliated of eight members, proved by Castlereagh to be her due.

Now, if Stanley, and Lord Althorpe, and Lord John Russell, had one single particle of respect for decency, where Ireland is concerned, they would, at all events, have given us these

eight members. They may now prate about the Union as long as they like; Ireland despises such chattering. Here is the test of their regard for Ireland—the claim to eight members is, in reason, common sense, justice, and decency, irresistible. They condescend to give her five, while they transfer the eight to Scotland, who had no such claim.

Is there any reason in the world why we should not get the eight—the Union eight—the Castlereagh eight?

I have, however, said, that Castlereagh designedly omitted one ingredient, namely, the comparative rental of both countries. His omission was supplied, and the gross perversions by which he diminished the rights of Ireland to an adequate representation, were fully exposed in a valuable book, printed by Mr. Newenham, a gentleman who had been many years a member of the Irish Parliament, an accomplished scholar, and a patriot.

The following was the result of Mr. Newenham's demonstration. It showed that Ireland was, in truth, entitled to representation in the following ratio:—

For the comparative Population,	.	.	228 members.
Exports,	.	.	179
Imports,	.	.	168
Revenue,	.	.	85
Rental, .	.	.	186
			<hr/>
			846

The mean of these five quantities is $169\frac{1}{2}$. Again I throw off the half—but thus I show that the fair proportion of Ireland was, at the Union, 169 members. We, therefore, did not get two-thirds of our proper proportion of representatives, when the deplorable Union was forced on Ireland by the combination of fraud, bribery, and blood.

We ask at present only 125 members. High as our rights are, we merely ask to be put into a situation of comparative liberality. Perhaps we deserve the neglect we experience from English Reformers, and the contempt with which the ministry

deal with us, for being so mean and pitiful as to accept of less than justice.

But it has been said, and repeated, and re-echoed, that the representation in England has a double basis, namely, population and revenue. This is by no means universally or generally true; but I will consent to take it so. Let us then see what the result of the calculation will be, taking for ingredients nothing more than population and revenue.

I wish to impress this part of the case of Ireland as strongly as I possibly can on the minds of British Reformers; and for this excellent reason: that this has been supposed to be the weakest part of our case; although, in fact and truth, it is quite the strongest and most irresistible.

Recollect, my present basis consists of population and revenue.

I will take care that there shall be no cavil, nor any dispute about the data I go upon, either with respect to population or revenue. I will take the revenue in the most palpably unfavourable way for Ireland, and I will take the population separately, on the returns of 1821 and of 1832. In short, I defy any man to controvert either my endeavour or the certainty of my data.

Now, upon the population returns of 1821, the population of England was, in round numbers, twelve millions; of Ireland, seven millions. But the twelve millions in England have 500 representatives. The seven millions in Ireland are, therefore, on the score of comparative population, entitled to 291 representatives.

However the revenue must be taken into account. I will, in the first place, refer to the report drawn up in 1830, by Mr. Rice, as chairman of the Irish committee, and printed by the House of Commons, in three volumes. It appears by the details of that report, that the Irish pay a full one-seventh of the revenue. Take the principal items of wine, sugar, coffee, and tobacco; the revenue from these articles was, in the preceding year, in England, £11,576,713, while it was in Ireland,

£1,665,718, being more than one-seventh. I am content, however, to take it at one-eighth. It will be seen that this is a most moderate demand. The entire revenue of Great Britain last year was, according to the finance account published by Parliament, £48,325,215, while that attributed to Ireland was only £4,560,897. But this estimate is egregiously and palpably fallacious, because Ireland does not get credit for the far greater part of the duties of customs which are paid by her inhabitants; neither for teas, nor for any other, the produce of the Eastern world, such as silks, spices, drugs, &c., none of which are imported direct into Ireland; neither does she get credit for the amount of duty on timber, sugar, cotton, coffee, paper, glass, wine, and various other articles which are imported into Ireland from England. Now, it is ascertained by the last separate account kept for Ireland, that for teas alone Ireland paid duty to the extent of half-a-million annually; and, as scarcely any one article liable to customs duty is now imported direct into Ireland, surely it is not too much to say, that the inhabitants of Ireland actually contribute on all those articles, exclusive of teas, to the amount of one million sterling. This will bring the amount of comparative revenue to this exact state:—

Revenues credited to Great Britain,	£48,325,215	
Deduct teas consumed in Ireland,	£500,000	
Deduct for all other customable articles consumed in Ireland,	£1,000,000	
		<hr/> 1,500,000
Real revenue of Great Britain,	£46,825,215	
Revenue credited to Ireland,	£4,560,897	
Add duty on teas consumed in Ire- land,	£500,000	
Add duties on all other customable articles imported from England,	1,000,000	
		<hr/> 1,500,000
Total Irish revenue,	£6,060,897	

It is thus plain that Ireland pays more than one-eighth of the revenue paid by Great Britain. Let it not be forgotten, that I make these calculations in so unfavourable a way for Ireland, that I gave England (with her 500 members) credit on the score of revenue for, at least, two millions paid by Scotland. Taking, therefore, the population return of 1821, and this estimate of Irish revenue at one-eighth; the right of Ireland to representation will stand thus:—

For population, on 500,	291
For revenue, on 500 $\frac{1}{8}$	62
	<hr/>
	358
	<hr/>
The one-half as the medium,	176

So that taking the population return of 1821 as giving seven millions in Ireland to twelve millions in England, and the Irish revenue so low as one-eighth of the English, I make a clear case for no less than 176 members for Ireland. But it may be said that there are errors in my estimate of the revenue, and that, therefore, my conclusion is fallacious. This assertion is true only to this extent—that my estimate is erroneous to the loss and disfavour of Ireland, and that my conclusion is fallacious because Ireland is really entitled to many more than 176 members.

However, I defy any person to cavil with another at the last estimate that I shall make on this subject.

I take up the population return of 1832. England has, by that return, a population of thirteen millions; Ireland a population of eight millions. On a representation of 500 members for England on thirteen millions, Ireland would be entitled for her eight millions to, at least, 307 members.

Now, come back to the revenue: Great Britain, £48,325,215; Ireland, £4,560,897. Credit Ireland with the duty on teas alone, Parliamentary evidence shows that to be, at least, half-a-million; add that half million, as you are bound to do, to the

Irish revenue, and you raise it to £5,060,897. You must, at the same time, deduct that half million from the British revenue, and you sink it to £47,825,216, though it will be seen that this deduction is by no means necessary to my argument. All I claim for Ireland is one-tenth of the revenue of Great Britain—that is all.

Look at the foregoing specifications of the revenue, and see whether it be possible for anyone to deny that Ireland pays one-tenth of the revenue—one full tenth. I have shown that she pays much more, but I rest on one-tenth.

Resume with me the calculation, and you will find that Ireland, on the combined basis of population and revenue, has the following rights :—

Population, 8 to 13 on 500, gives	307
Revenue, 1 to 10 on 500, gives	50
	<hr/>
	357
One-half as the medium,	178

If justice were done to Ireland, if anything approaching to justice were done to Ireland, she would have 178 members; and the case, on the combined basis of population and revenue, is quite irresistible to the mind of every fair and just man.

It may, perhaps, be amusing to recollect that, on the return of 1821, the proportion of Irish population, capable of bearing arms, was 1,664,437, and that of Great Britain, was 2,928,951. The proportions are still more favourable to Ireland on the last returns, and thus Ireland has a large claim for increased representation, as sustained by physical force.

I recapitulate these points :—

First—According to the vilest of the vile, Castlereagh, Ireland ought to have 108 members. We get but 105. Ireland, therefore, in this, the most abject and degrading view, is defrauded of three members.

Secondly—According to the view of the documents on which Castlereagh made his calculation, as corrected by Newenham, we ought to have 169 members. We get but 105. Ire-

land, is therefore, defrauded, in this view, of no less than sixty-four members.

Thirdly—According to the combined basis of population and revenue—taking the return of 1821—and the revenue of Ireland as one-eighth, Ireland ought to have 176 members. She gets but 105 members. She is, therefore, defrauded to the extent of seventy-one members.

Fourthly—According to the combined basis of population and revenue, taking up the population returns in 1832, and estimating the Irish revenue so very low as one-tenth, Ireland is entitled to 178 members; as we get but 105, we are thus defrauded of no less than seventy-three members.

Thus it will be seen that the most recent and most incontrovertible data give us the highest claim to an increase of members. We are entitled on the basis of population and revenue to 178. We ask only for 125. We give up fifty-three of what we are entitled to, and thereupon we are scouted by the British Legislature—we are neglected and abandoned by the British Reformers, whom we assisted at their need—and we are left to our resources, to our own unconquered and unconquerable determination to obtain justice for Ireland.

Take up the calculation in any way—population, exports, imports, rental, revenue, fighting-men—view it in any way, or in any mode, and the wrong perpetrated in Ireland is the most gross and glaring. Since the world began there never was so unjust a proceeding. The British Minister has a strong majority of real and mock Reformers; and in the plenitude of his strength, it pleases Mr. E. G. Stanley to perpetrate these outrages in Ireland, and they are perpetrated accordingly. I restrain my indignation, my honest indignation, and merely state facts.

In distributing the increase of members in England, the ministers have acted, on the scale of population alone. Now, Ireland, on that scale, would be entitled to no less than 307 members.

But let us go into some details, which will serve to place

the contrast between the favour done to one country, and the injustice done to the other, in a still more striking light.

Mark this enormous preference :—

The county of Cumberland, with a population of only 169,681, gets two additional members—that is, it will in future send four members to Parliament.

The county of Cork, with a population of 807,366 does not get one additional member. It will continue to send two only.

That is just saying, in so many words, 169,681 people in Cumberland are of twice as much value in Parliament as 807,366 in the county of Cork. Ask for a reason: Oh, the smaller number are English—the greater are Irish.—Q. E. D.

Northamptonshire gets two additional members. Another Cabinet Minister sits for it. Its population is only 179,276. It will send four members to Parliament.

Down has a population of 352,571. It gets no increase of members.

Leicestershire has 197,276 inhabitants. It increases its representatives from two to four.

Tipperary has 402,698 inhabitants. It must be content with two members. I, however, doubt much whether Tipperary will be satisfied.

Worcestershire, with a population of 211,356, is to have four representatives.

Galway county, with a population of 427,407 remains with two.

Wiltshire, with only 239,181 inhabitants, is to command four representatives.

Tyrone, with 302,943 inhabitants, is to have but two.

Nottinghamshire has 225,320 for its population, accordingly it is to have four members.

Antrim county has 323,306 for its population, accordingly it is to have but two representatives.

Derbyshire has a population of 237,170—it will have four members. Stanley is at home here, I suppose.

Dublin county has a population of no less than 386,964. Not one additional member—not one!

But why should I pursue the painful, the humiliating contrast? I cannot avoid noticing just one instance more.

Monmouthshire gets a third member, though its population is but 98,130.

Mayo, with 367,953; Limerick, with 300,080; Clare, with 258,862; Kerry, with 219,989; Donegal, with 298,104—not one of them gets any increase—not one!

There is but one county in Ireland, that is the county of Carlow, the population of which is so low as that of Monmouthshire. The population of the other thirty-one counties all exceed Monmouthshire; yet it gets an additional member, and Irish counties, with a population of one and a-half to nine times the population of Monmouthshire, are left without any addition.

Is this fair? Is it just? Is it reasonable? Ought Ireland to be content? Ought the Irish people to be satisfied? Yes, provided they be the very basest of slaves that ever crawled on the face of the globe.

I cannot close without one honest burst of indignation at the injustice, and, I will add, ingratitude of the British Reformers to their fellow-labourers in Ireland.

I have demonstrated the contumelious injuries inflicted on us by this Reform Bill. My letters are long before the public. They have been unrefuted, uncontradicted, in any one of their details. And with this case of atrocious injustice to Ireland placed before the reformers of Britain, what assistance, what sympathy do we receive? Why, I have got some half dozen drivelling letters from political unions, and political characters, asking me whether I advise them to petition or bestir themselves on our behalf! Bah!

Reformers of Great Britain, I do not ask you either to petition or to be silent. I do not advise you to petition, or to do any other act, in favour of the Irish. You will consult your own feelings of justice and generosity, unprovoked by any advice or entreaty of mine.

For my part, I never despaired of Ireland; I do not, I will not, I cannot dare to despair of my beloved country. She has, in my view, obtained freedom of conscience for others as well as for herself. She has shaken off the incubus of tithes, while silly legislation was doling out its folly and its falsehoods. She can and she will obtain for herself justice and constitutional freedom; and although she may sigh at British neglect and ingratitude, there is no sound of despair in that sigh, nor any want of moral energy, on her part, to attain her own rights of peaceable and legal means.

One word more. My fifth and last letter will demonstrate, that all the iniquity of the Irish Reform Bill, in its refusal of franchise, and narrowing of elective rights, sinks into comparative insignificance when compared with the expensive, tedious, vexatious, unjust, and almost impracticable modes of registration of votes prescribed by the Irish Reform Bill. With that letter I will close.

I have the honour to be, Brother Reformers,

Your faithful servant,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

TO THE REFORMERS OF GREAT BRITAIN.

LETTER V.

Parliament-street, June 11, 1832.

This letter closes my commentary on the infamous Reform Bill for Ireland. I hope no honest man in England, or in Scotland, will insult the Irish people by including, in their rejoicings, the Irish Bill. Let them, as they ought to do, rejoice heartily, rejoice at the overthrow of the sordid oligarchy in England and in Scotland. Let them rejoice, heartily rejoice, that in England one hundred and twelve Swiss are flung out of Parliament by the magic of the Schedule A, and that all Scotland is put into a similar glorious schedule. This is, indeed, a most just cause of triumph, and the people of Ireland will join in that rejoicing, and will heartily concur in the shouts of triumph at the achievement of English and Scottish liberty.

But I do most earnestly implore of the Reformers of Great Britain to abstain from offering so gross, so unmerited, so provoking an insult to the people of Ireland, as it expresses joy for that which will be to us a cause of the bitterest affliction, the passing of Stanley's mock Reform Bill for Ireland. Let British Reformers recollect, that it is avowed to be a Conservative measure.

I now come to my fourth and fifth objections to the Irish Bill; they relate to the registry of votes—they are these:

Fourth—The Irish Reform Bill continues a mode of registry of voters, complicated in its details, extremely dilatory and expensive, and almost impossible to be complied with by any person but a man of fortune.

Fifth—It leaves the registry of votes in the hands of persons totally irresponsible, and who, taken in the aggregate, are most unfit for that purpose; first, from want of sufficient aptitude; and, secondly, by reason of their zealous Tory principles.

Before I proceed, I wish to state explicitly to the English Reformers, what it is the Irish want in relation to the registry of their votes.

We desire the mode of registry enacted for England, that is the precise amount of our demand. As far as the registry is involved in the Reform measure, our institutions are either precisely the same, or preferable to those of England; we want, therefore, the same machinery for registration of voters, and entitling the voter to vote as is adopted by, and enacted for England.

We want a registry of voters as cheap and as effectual as the English registry—why should this, our reasonable demand, be refused us?

For no other reason than this—that our rulers are determined to disfranchise Ireland, under the name of Reform; and, therefore, they keep on foot, and even aggravate considerably, and seek to perpetuate a system of registry, introduced by the Peel-Wellington Administration, with the undisguised purpose of converting every county in Ireland into a close borough.

I solemnly and conscientiously declare, that if the Irish Reform Bill had given the people of Ireland the same liberal and extensive franchises, which the English Bill preserves for or nearly grants to the people of England, the effect of even so liberal a Bill would be almost totally lost, if the machinery for registry and taking the votes, which is inserted in the Irish Bill, were to become law.

In short, the machinery of the Irish Bill is bad to so extraordinary an extent, that it would neutralize the benefits of a Reform Bill, most liberal in its franchise. Judge, then, what a bill this is—that has only two faults. First, it restricts popular rights; and, secondly, it gives the worst possible machinery!!!

To prove this to demonstration, I will now proceed to point out the details of the registry and mode of voting in the English counties, and then contrast with these the provisions, which I again deliberately call infamous and atrocious, of the mock Reform for Ireland.

In England, the register of persons entitled to vote is to be made out thus :—

First.—The overseers of every parish in England are, on every 20th of June, to affix on all churches, chapels, and public places in the parish, a notice, calling on every person claiming a right to vote to send in his claim in writing.

Secondly.—A full month is given to send in such claim; and if the claim be lodged on the 20th of July, it is quite sufficient; it may be lodged any day during such entire months.

Thirdly.—Each person claiming to vote, has no other trouble than to hand in his notice in his own parish to the overseer, and pay him one shilling. The shilling is the entire expense, and no loss of time is incurred.

Fourthly.—The overseer is then to make out an alphabetical list of the persons so claiming to be voters. He is to put the words, "objected to," opposite the name of any person he has reason to believe not entitled to vote. The list is then to be printed, and published by affixing it on all churches, chapels, and public places, and a copy to be kept by the overseer, which is to be open for public inspection for two weeks, without payment of any fee.

Fifthly.—Any person claiming a right to vote is at liberty to object to the claim of any other person in the list; but he must give notice in writing of his objection, not only to the overseer, but to the person objected to; and a separate list of persons thus objected to is to be printed and published.

Sixthly.—The lists are then to be transmitted, through the high constable, to the Clerk of the Peace; and the lists of the persons objected to, including a statement of their respective residences, are to be transmitted to the registering barrister, in order that he may fix proper places for holding courts to consider the objections.

Seventhly.—Every person not specially objected to by the overseer, or by some other elector, is put on the register, and becomes entitled to vote without more trouble or expense.

Let it be observed that, unless any elector be specially objected to, he thus has his right to vote ascertained, without any consumption of his time, or any expense, save one shilling.

If he be specially objected to, he will have the satisfaction of knowing who it is that objects to his right to vote; and he can, as I shall presently show, examine that person upon oath as to the motives and reason for such objection.

Eightly—A barrister is to be appointed to decide the claims thus objected to; his appointment is to be made thus—the senior judge on each circuit, at the summer assizes, is to name a barrister for each district or locality. Now, this is just as it should be, in point of responsibility. One judge makes the appointment; he is responsible to the public for its fitness; no other person shares that responsibility with him. The trial of the objections is to take place before one barrister. No other person shares that responsibility with him; and it will be seen that this responsibility is not merely formal, but is directly, personal, and, indeed, pecuniary.

Ninthly—The barrister thus appointed is to give notice of the times and places for holding courts to decide the claims objected to. It will be his duty to hold these courts as near the residences of the persons objected to as possible.

Tenthly—The barrister is to decide in favour of the claim of any elector objected to by a third person, unless that third person attend the court by himself or his agent to sustain the objection. The elector in this case is put to no trouble, nor is any investigation gone into of his qualification, unless such third person attend the court.

Eleventhly—It is only in the case of objections made by the overseer, or by a third person who attends the court, that any investigation of the claim of the elector becomes necessary, or takes place. But it then takes place by the barrister calling on the elector simply “to prove his qualification;” these are the words of the act. If the elector proves his qualification, then the barrister is bound to throw upon the objector the proof of

incapacity; and, unless that proof be given, the voter is put on the list or register, and his right to vote is established.

Let it be observed that there is no direction to investigate title, or to produce any deed by or under which the elector claims to vote or derives title.

Twelfthly—The barrister is empowered to examine on oath the overseer as to every matter connected with the list, and with his objections to peculiar persons. This is a most important and valuable power, as it will manifestly deter overseers from making malicious or frivolous objections.

Thirteenthly—The barrister is entitled to correct all mistakes and omissions of name, residence, or description of tenures, and all other errors in the list. He then signs the list, which is to be printed and published; and from that roll the electors are, without further trouble, entitled, without the production of any other document, to vote at each ensuing election. There is great simplicity and certainty in this mode, and it tends to the greatest facility and expedition in polling at a contested election.

Fourteenthly—A barrister is thus annually to revise the list; but an elector once on the list is not bound to give any fresh claim, or to pay a second shilling, or to take any trouble, unless he shall be formally objected to in any one year, and notice of such objection given to him; and the lists are to be printed annually, and sold to any person willing to buy.

Lastly—And this is the most important of all. The responsibility of the barrister is real and substantial, because if it is proved that any overseer, barrister, &c., shall willingly contravene or disobey that Act with respect to any matter or thing which he is thereby required to do, he becomes liable to be sued in an action of debt by any candidate, elector, or other person aggrieved, and a sum of £500 may be recovered against him; and if a verdict be had against him for only one shilling, he will be bound to pay "full cost of suit" also.

This is a clause of inestimable value. It is the surest and most efficient check of misconduct. Where is the barrister who

will venture to misconduct himself, when he knows that a verdict of a jury may punish his delinquency by a heavy penalty and a total loss of character for life?

Such is the plain and simple plan of registry—such is the cheap, expeditious, and well-guarded plan of registry adapted to England. No Englishman can be, by wantonness or folly, deprived of his right as an elector; he cannot be wilfully delayed or postponed for an hour, without having an immediate and easy appeal to a jury, and abundant redress from, and abundant punishment for, the delinquent.

Let us now see what the machinery is under the Irish Bill. It is, however, fit to be observed that this machinery is new—that is, has been in existence only about three years. It was introduced to make the Catholic Relief Bill as valueless as possible to the people of Ireland. It is introduced to exclude from the right to vote as many persons as possible. It, of course, has had that effect; and by means of this machinery and the other enactments of the anti-popular accomplishment to Emancipation, the number of voters in Ireland was brought down from 200,000 to less than 20,000.

Now, if our Irish Reform contrivers had been sincere, they would certainly have, at all events, abolished the machinery of delay, vexation, and expense, invented by the Wellington Administration to punish the Irish people for having extorted Emancipation. The Whigs are continuing that punishment.

I put these questions by themselves:—If our machinery were good, as it had been tried for three years, and its practical effects ascertained, why, instead of inviting new, was not this tried machinery introduced into England? It could be so by the single alteration of a temporary or limited for a general or permanent barrister. Why, I say, if it were good, was it not introduced into England, instead of inventing a new and quite different machinery for England? The reason to me is obvious, because no man would dare to propose such machinery to the people of England.

My next question is—why, as this machinery is so loudly

and universally complained of by all the Irish people, except the Orange or Conservative party—why, I say, is it not got rid of, and the plan in the English Bill, which we demand, conceded to us? Let this also be observed, that all the anti-Reformers of Ireland are zealous advocates of Stanley's Registry plan—all the real Reformers detest it; and we, the Reformers, are at once sacrificed by Stanley, by Lord Althorp, and Lord John Russell, to the wishes of the Irish Tories.

That we most justly complain of the machinery of Stanley's Bill will appear from the following analysis:—

First—No person can register as a voter in Ireland without first giving to the acting Clerk of the Peace a notice in writing of his claim twenty clear days before the first day of each registering session, to be appointed by the assistant-barrister.

Now, observe, that the Irish elector will thus be obliged to travel, or to send a messenger, with the notice some distance, varying in our counties from one mile to fifty or sixty. Twenty miles is not an unreasonable average distance from each voter. Thus, two days are lost in Ireland in merely giving notice of a claim to register; one day going and one day returning. Two minutes will suffice in England. In Ireland, the voter is put to the expense and labour of travelling during two days. In England there is no labour and, of course, no expense of travelling.

Secondly—In Ireland the notice to be served is extremely complicated, and such as will require, as it does require, the aid of an attorney to draw up—an aid not always to be had gratuitously.

In England the notice is extremely simple; any person can draw it from the schedule of the Act. It requires the elector to set out only his name, place of abode, the situation of the freehold or franchise land, and such a description of the property as may serve to identify it. These are the words in the English Act.

In Ireland, on the contrary, besides the elector's name and place of abode, he must also specify "the right in respect of

which he intends to apply, and the nature and particulars of the qualification relied upon by him, as entitling him to be registered; the description of the property, with the names of the barony, townland, or place where situate; the nature of his interest in the property; the date of the deed giving title!!! The parties names thereto!!! and the yearly value!!!! and the yearly rent!!!!”

In England the barrister is entitled to correct, and is bound to correct any mistakes in the notice or list of claims; and so the elector is set right and is entitled to vote, notwithstanding any blunder or mistake in matter of form.

In Ireland, on the contrary, the assistant-barrister has no such power. A mistake in so complicated a notice is a ground of rejection; and the elector, after incurring great trouble and expense, has to begin over again.

Thirdly—The next important step in Ireland is the attendance at the session. The list of claimants is to be read over by the acting Clerk of the Peace. What day? Whatever day or hour the assistant-barrister chooses! The sessions last from three to ten days—the elector may be there from the first to the last day before the list is called over; he may thus be kept absent many days from his business and his family; he has to sustain at least the loss of two, or, indeed, three days, perhaps six; and if he should by accident be out of court when his name is called he loses all his labour, and has to begin over again for a future session.

In Ireland every elector must attend the sessions, I have said already, at an average journey of twenty miles in most counties. Every elector must attend, no matter how well known his right may be.

In England no elector need attend, save an elector especially and by name objected to.

In Ireland the attendance at sessions is the general, indeed, the universal rule.

In England it is only the exception.

In Ireland the place of session is fixed for other purposes,

and without any possible reference to the residence of the elector.

In England it is the duty of the barrister, and he has the power, to bring the court to try the disputed claims as near to the residence of the elector interested in the trial as he possibly can.

Fourthly—In Ireland each elector, so soon as he is named, is called upon to go on, and prove his entire case, although no one objects to his right of voting; he is required to produce his lease, or other title deed, and to show it to be duly stamped!!! A mistake committed in the stamp duty will, after perhaps fifty years' possession, be fatal to him. He must either produce his title deed, and expose it to all possible adverse discoveries, down to the amount of the stamp duty, or lose his right to vote.

I ask, would the people of England submit to such an odious inquisition; and, above all, would they allow any human being to call that a Reform Bill, which required every Englishman to enforce his title, or to forfeit his right to vote? Why, the great objection of the landed interest in England to the measure of a general registry of deeds (the value of which, in the abstract, every rational man must admit)—the great objection to the registry of deeds is, that it would expose men's title deeds to public inspection; and yet you will not allow a single individual in Ireland to establish at sessions his right to vote, without submitting to scrutiny all the muniments of his title; and this is called the Irish Reform Bill!!!

Fifthly—When the deed, or lease, is produced, then the trial commences; the elector is put to prove his case, as if he had brought an ejectment; and, although in possession, an ejectment is actually tried, the assistant-barrister is required to make the elector show the nature of his tenure, and he is to decide on the validity, or invalidity, of the elector's title; and to examine, in support, or in opposition, to his claim; and any person in the community is at liberty to come forward, and, without any previous notice, to controvert, by evidence, the elector's title.

In Ireland, in addition to all these particulars, every elector is bound also to produce evidence of his qualifications in point of value.

Thus, in Ireland, there is a double trial in every individual case of a registry under a Reform Bill—a trial of the title, and a trial upon the value—with liberty to anybody, or everybody, to take the elector by surprise, and give any contradictory evidence he may please, to destroy the title, or lessen the value.

Besides, the unfortunate elector has no process allowed him, to compel the attendance of witnesses, neither can he enforce the production of any of the title deeds of the persons under whom he derives. He is, in short, tied hand and foot, and bound to show the weakness of his title, and disabled from proving his strength, unless, indeed, he be a mere tool in the hands of his landlord, or his agent; and then indeed, he may, with some greater facility, register for them, and not for himself.

Can anybody now be surprised that, in the county of Kerry, with a population of upwards of 240,000 persons, there should be but 178 electors at £10, entitled to vote; that is, in the single popular franchise, only one person out of every one thousand three hundred and forty-eight is entitled to vote!!!

I do venture to ask Lord Althorpe, whether he really thinks it honest to insist on continuing such a system as this; and, next, whether he thinks it consistent with truth, to call the Bill which continues such a system a Reform Bill; and if it be inconsistent with honesty and truth, what shall I call it? Why, something so coarse as to shock "ears polite," but which ill be re-echoed throughout Ireland.

Now, contrast Ireland with England—the Irish with the English plan. In England, no elector is at all called on to prove his qualification, but an elector, specially and particularly objected to in writing. In England, therefore, the case of such an elector is the exception.

In Ireland, on the other hand, every elector must make that proof. It is the general—the universal rule.

Should this be so? Should anybody in Ireland be called on to prove title, and nobody in England called on to prove qualification, save a person specially and particularly objected to?

There are a thousand other forcible points of view in which I could place the contrast in this respect, but I fear to be too tedious; and, besides, the facts speak for themselves, and show that the English system is intelligent and considerate, favourable to the elector, and reasonable, in point of trouble and expense; whilst the Irish system, if intelligible, is only so by reason of its distinct harshness and atrocity. It is inquisitorial and tyrannical to the elector, It is most unreasonable, in point of labour and trouble.

In England no elector has any occasion to employ a professional man to secure his right of voting. It is quite obvious that it would be perfect insanity in any elector in Ireland to trust himself into the Session Court to register a vote, without the aid of a skilful attorney.

This, alone, would create such an expense as to preclude the far greater number of persons from attempting to register their votes but that there are, in most of the counties of Ireland, a class of independent and patriotic attorneys, who volunteer their services in aid of the electors; and thus, in this, as in so many other instances, Irish public spirit counteracts the evils of British misgovernment.

I will pursue the contrast between the Irish and English Bill only in one case more.

Take an English elector, whose right to vote is clear. Suppose an Irish elector of the same class.

The English elector consumes two minutes of his time in drawing up and handing to his parish overseer his notice by claiming a right to vote; he pays one shilling, and there is at once an end to all expense and to all trouble

The Irish elector has an equally clear right to vote, yet he

must either first venture to draw a very intricate notice himself, which will cost him much time, or employ an attorney to draw up that notice, which ought to cost him not less than ten shillings at the very lowest.

Secondly—He must transmit that notice, ten, twenty, thirty, or forty miles, say on an average twenty miles, to the acting Clerk of the Peace. Thus are two days' time, and the expense of near two days' travelling, expended.

Thirdly—He must attend in person at the session. Here is at least a loss of three days, consumed, or spoiled, in going, remaining at session, and returning home. There is also the actual money expenditure during these three days.

Fourthly—He has his title ransacked in open court, and is harassed by, in fact, two trials, of title and of value.

Fifthly—He has next to pay a stamp duty of two shillings and sixpence in order to obtain evidence of his right to vote.

Now all this vexation and expense takes place in every case in Ireland; even in a case most free from doubt or difficulty. The Englishman, for one shilling, and in less than three minutes, completes his title to vote. It will cost the Irishman, at least, five entire days, and, at the lowest possible calculation, one pound in money to complete his title to vote.

But, mark this distinction. The English elector pays one shilling, and no more; he can earn that shilling by half-a-day's labour. He pays no stamp duty.

The Irish elector pays in stamp duty alone two shillings and sixpence; he cannot earn these two shillings and sixpence by less than five days' labour. Thus, what the English elector pays for by half-a-day's labour, the Irish elector must consume five days' labour in tax alone.

But the greatest advantage to the English elector is still unexpressed; it is this: if the barrister in England shall presume to contravene, or to disobey, in any one particular, the English Reform Bill, the English elector need not complain to any great man, or to any public body. He has a remedy in

his own hands; he brings his action, he appeals to a jury, he obtains compensation, and full costs of suit.

In Ireland, what a melancholy contrast! The Irish elector has no remedy whatsoever against the assistant-barrister, who may harass the elector, who may detain him, and postpone him, and dismiss his claim to register, upon the most idle, the most frivolous, the most vexatious pretext. This the assistant-barrister in Ireland can do with the most perfect impunity; no action lies against him—no compensation can possibly be obtained from him—no recourse to a jury—perfect impunity awaits him.

The barrister, under the English system, is deeply, immediately, personally, and pecuniarily responsible.

The barrister, under the Irish system, is completely irresponsible.

To be sure, if he were fool enough publicly to boast, or to admit that he acted from corrupt motives, he might be punished; but it is in the impossible case of any man being so insane as to make such an avowal alone, that any punishment could follow; yet, even then, the elector could get no compensation.

In England, the rights of the electors are secured, and the performance of the duty of the barrister is insured, by a perfect and complete responsibility.

In Ireland there is no security for the rights of the elector, or for the performance of the duty, because the barrister is perfectly and completely irresponsible.

One more extremely great advantage is possessed by the English elector—the evidence of his right to vote is put upon record—it consists of the county roll. He has only to point out his name on the list, and then his right to vote accrues.

Hitherto, the Irish voter had something of a similar privilege. When an elector succeeded under the present law in getting his vote registered, his affidavit of registry remained among the records of the county; and, at the election, that

affidavit was referred to, as the primary and perfectly sufficient evidence of the elector's right to vote. The elector could thus vote without entering into any controversy or personal altercation with his landlord. The evidence of his right was preserved for him on the public record.

Now this advantage Stanley takes away from the elector by his Reform Bill. It is believed that this flagrant injustice is the contrivance of the very decided and not a little virulent Tory that fills the influential office of Attorney-General in Ireland under the present most liberal and Whig Administration. Who is it could imagine it possible that this advantage should be taken away by Stanley, and that by a Reform Bill? The affidavit is still to be made, and filed, and preserved in the county records, but to no purpose, for no object; because it is no longer the evidence of the voter's right to vote.

The result is this: an elector in Ireland may have the good fortune to go through the gauntlet of the Session Court, through all the trials, all the journeys, and all the expense of registering. His right may have been adjudicated upon in his favour; his name placed in the county book; his affidavit of registry duly signed by the Court of Quarter Session, filed, and preserved on record. All this evidence is forthcoming; under these circumstances, he, as the law now stands, can vote at once, without difficulty.

But here is Stanley's knack at reforming. He, by the new Bill, destroys the force of all this cogent and conclusive evidence. He takes away its cogency—he annihilates its conclusive nature—and, by way of reform, he substitutes for his evidence of record—what? a certificate of registry, signed by the Assistant-Barrister, and by the acting Clerk of the Peace!!! This, indeed, is reforming with a vengeance!

Yet this change, which at first sight seems to be mere folly and absurd drivelling, is not so in reality. It has an object—Stanley, like great Cæsar, “ne’er does wrong without just cause.” He had an excellent reason of his own for this strange alteration. It is simply this: he intends to put into the hands of

the landlord an absolute power of preventing his tenants from voting at all, unless they vote as he pleases.

It cannot be, as he rather unblushingly pretends, to secure the payment of the stamp duty of two shillings and sixpence; because that duty might, with greater propriety, be attached to the affidavit of registry. No, no; his object is purely and simply to take away all self-will from the voter, and to make his vote the property of his landlord.

This he intends to effectuate thus: he knows full well that the Irish landlords have hitherto been in the habit of holding the custody of such certificates as have as yet been used only as an additional mode of facilitating the proof of registry. It is exceedingly difficult for a tenant to register without the aid of his landlord; and he has no chance of keeping his certificate from the custody of his landlord, unless he is prepared to quarrel with his landlord, and to set him at defiance, three, four, or five years, before an election, and at a time when no political excitement may exist—when, at all events, no candidates are, or can be, named—when no interest is roused as to the mode of voting. Stanley knows that thus the landlord will easily get possession of the certificates; they will thus have in their power the evidence on which alone the tenant can vote—the consequences are obvious—the tenant must vote as the landlord chooses, or not vote at all.

I observed very strongly on this piece of trick and dexterity in one of my letters in the Political Union. Stanley, in his last edition of the Irish Bill, has attempted a delusion on this point. He provides for the case of the certificate being withheld from the voter, by allowing him to procure a duplicate—a stamped duplicate—mark that! two shillings and sixpence more, on payment also of a fee of one shilling.

But this is a pure—I should call it, a shabby—delusion, for at what time is the certificate likely to be withheld? Why, at or immediately before a contested election; and, I ask, where is the assistant-barrister then to be found. An obvious motive of delicacy would remove him from the county during a poli-

tical contest. But we need not give him so high a motive. His personal and professional interest will take him to Dublin when the session is not sitting; the duplicate certificate will be of no value without his signature; and even if a journey to Dublin were to be taken by each voter—rather an expensive thing from the more distant counties—yet the barrister would not be warranted, or least, could not be required, to sign the duplicate certificate without having the county book before him, which he could not have out of the county itself.

This piece of delusion is almost on a par with the introduction of a £10 chattel franchise, on terms of sixty years, in Stanley's Bill after my first letter. But he certainly had the candour to admit, that he made that concession in favour of the Orange counties of the north of Ireland, where alone he alleged he had evidence that tenures of that length of years existed. I restrain my natural indignation on this topic. It only proves how truly I described Stanley's Reform Bill as an Orange or Conservative measure, calculated solely to advance the interests and increase the power of the Irish Tories and virulent Anti-Reformers, and to offer every species of injustice, insult, and contumely to the Irish Reformers and the magnanimous Irish people.

British Reformers, I have not described many and many of the defects which the Irish Reform Bill displays. I have, therefore, shown you that its franchises are restricted and aristocratic; its details insulting and injurious; its machinery contrived to annihilate all independence, and to reduce the electors of Ireland to the station of the burgage tenants of your late most rotten boroughs.

I now conclude; I have done this much, and this much only of my duty. British Reformers, what is yours?

I have the honour to be, Brother Reformers,

Your very faithful servant,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

COERCION BILL, IRELAND.

*British Hotel, Jermyn-street, London,
13th February, 1846.*

MY DEAR SIR—I enclose you the following subscriptions for Repeal Rent for the month of February :—

Daniel O'Connell, M. P.,	..	£1	0	0
Maurice O'Connell, M. P.,	...	1	0	0
John O'Connell, M. P.,	...	1	0	0
Daniel O'Connell, Jun.,	...	1	0	0

I beg to call the immediate attention of the Association to the reports in the newspapers of this day of the alleged proceedings in the House of Lords. You will see that we are menaced with a Coercion Bill. The English Parliament does not dream of converting the parchment Union into the semblance of a real Union, by giving to the Irish nation equal franchises, equal representation, equal rights, equal religious freedom—in short, equal laws with those enjoyed by the people of England. A union, if it means anything distinct, must mean perfect equality between the inhabitants of the united countries. Ours is a servitude, and not a union; yet, there is not the least chance of the British Parliament placing us on a footing of equality with the English and Scotch nations; but they will have little hesitation in depriving Ireland even of the legal and constitutional right she at present possesses.

You will have seen by the papers, the line of conduct attributed to Earl Grey. You will have seen it without any surprise; he naturally vindicates his hereditary right to hold in contempt and unmitigated hatred the people of Ireland. He cheerily rejoices at the very mention of a Coercion Bill, and he offers the Government his ready services in promoting that measure. To be sure, he accompanies that offer with the expression of a demand for some measures of legislative relief to follow the Coercion Act; but all that is mere verbiage and

trash. The Government will readily give the Coercion Bill, but no identification of political rights; and that Government will plead his father's example for treating the people of Ireland as an inferior race, unworthy of political equalisation with the people of England.

It is perfectly true that frightful murders have been committed in Ireland; murders by the people, and murders upon the people; murders which, of course, cannot be justified, and which it is utterly impossible to palliate; murders that deserve the utmost penalty man can inflict; and murders which justly raise the red arm of God's vengeance upon the perpetrators.

There is no law to punish the murders inflicted by the clearance system; the landlords legally claim the right to do what they please with their own, regardless of the moral duties which ought to be necessarily attached to the rights of property. As to the just punishment of those who commit assassination, there is no legal power wanting to work out that punishment.

What should be sought for and desired most anxiously by everybody is, to discover and firmly to obviate the causes which produce these frightful crimes, by taking away the temptation to commit them. We desire to suppress assassination, by suppressing every motive that may instigate to such a diabolical crime. The law should protect the people, and the people will then obey the law.

Coercion has been tried often enough, and long enough; it may occasionally create a lull for a time, but by tracing the history of Coercion Acts since the Union, you will find that the temporary suspension of Whiteboy outrages has been always followed by a recurrence of crimes of a deeper dye than those perpetrated on former occasions.

Let coercion give way to conciliation; let not the Parliament attempt to re-enact coercion laws, without first doing all that legislation can do to remove the causes of Irish discontent. Relief Bills—not mere temporary shifts and expedients—but political and permanent Relief Bills, what should be called Equalisation Bills—let such Bills precede, if it were even

merely as an experiment, the enactment of any unconstitutional or coercive law. I say to the Parliament: try first—justice, equality, assimilation of political rights; and, above all, repeal all the formidable powers given by the British Parliament to Irish landlords by several statutes passed since the Union. Take the relation of landlord and tenant into immediate consideration; above all, give to the occupier some security of tenure by, at least, allowing the tenant the full benefit of all the capital and labour expended by him in the improvement of the lands, and preventing his being dispossessed until he is recompensed in full for all valuable improvements.

Take up the principle of Lord Stanley's Bill in the last session, disembarrassed from its vexatious restrictions and foolish details; let the Parliament, I say, legislate in this spirit for Ireland; let it give a sacredness to the tenant-right, before it dares to touch any of the constitutional rights which the people of Ireland now possess; those rights are not many, but they are valuable and protective. Let no ministry dare to think of infringing them by a Coercion Bill until they have first tried the experiment of justice, equalisation of civil rights, and protection to the honest and improving tenant.

I respectfully submit to the Association, that it ought immediately call on all the Irish Repeal members to attend in their places to meet the Coercion Bill as it comes from the Lords, and to meet it with the most decided and unequivocal hostility. There must be no compromise, no bartering of present rights, either for the promises or for the reality of future political liberties. Let us, if we can, drive the minister to try the only certain or rational preventative of crime, namely, the concession of conciliation, to be limited only by an equalisation with England or Scotland. Let us see the practical effect of such a plan, before we give the slightest assent to any coercive measures. Ours is the only effective plan—try justice before you enact despotism. Above all, I repeat, let there be nothing in the shape of compromise.

What a melancholy exhibition of political depravity it is

that men should be found ready to make any experiment of coercion, and most reluctant to try conciliation to arise from the concession of the equality of civil and religious rights.

I have been under the necessity of postponing my statement respecting the famine and pestilence which menace Ireland until Tuesday next. On that day, I think I may promise to bring the case of Ireland fully before the Parliament and public. We shall, no doubt, get abundance of kind words and warm expressions of solicitude for the people of Ireland ; such shall be the words—what will be the deeds ? I augur unfavourably. I think the measures necessary to preserve Ireland from the horrors of famine and pestilence, are too bold for the timidity of the ministry and the inclination of the House.

One thing alone is certain, that there is no substantial remedy for Ireland except in the restoration of her domestic Parliament.

Believe me to be, yours truly,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Martin Crean, Esq.,

Acting-Secretary, Loyal National Repeal Association.

*British Hotel, Jermyn-street, London, .
Friday, Feb. 27, 1848.*

MY DEAR RAY—I was very much pleased to find that the Association had, under the auspices of Mr. Smith O'Brien, taken the initiative in denouncing and opposing the new Coercion Bill.

It is an atrocious measure. It should be opposed by every means the constitution leaves open. It is, I repeat, a very atrocious measure; and whereas all former Coercion Bills were merely temporary, and held out the consolation that, though they were oppressive and derogatory to constitutional rights, they were in their nature transitory and of short duration; they held out the certainty that the constitution would revive again, and that whatever of political rights and liberties the Union left to Ireland should be once more brought into action, and afford, against lawless invaders, some protection to the people of Ireland.

It is not so with this Algerine Act. It holds out the fiendish intention of being perpetual. It announces distinctly that, as long as the Union statute is law, this Coercion Bill shall be the charter of Irish slavery and degradation. It thus presents abundant reasons why every honest politician in Ireland should become a Repealer. It is the crowning measure of that degradation and injustice which is made to insult and oppress Ireland under the name of a Union. Shame! eternal shame and scorn to those who stand by in base apathy, or baser neglect, and see their countrymen trampled under foot by the hoofs of unconstitutional coercionists.

The first great objection, therefore, to the intended Coercion Bill is its perpetual nature. No minister would dare propose such a Bill for England—no minister would dare propose such a Bill for Scotland. It is only poor, trampled-down, and oppressed Ireland that is obnoxious to measures of this kind.

It is only Ireland, with which it is calculated there will be no sympathy or support. It is only wretched Ireland that can be crushed with perfect impunity.

Gracious Heaven! what a consummation of the Union. Scotland will continue to have a constitutional guarantee for person and property. No man can have his property taxed in Scotland by the capricious will of a single individual chosen by Government. No Scotchman can be arrested or imprisoned without legal process, and legal evidence of crime, nor without the means of legal redress in case of any abuse of the existing laws. Long may the people of Scotland enjoy the benefit of such protection.

England will continue to have a constitutional guarantee for person and property. No man can have his property taxed in England by the capricious will of a single individual chosen by Government—no Englishman can be arrested or imprisoned without legal process and legal evidence of crime, nor without the means of legal redress, in case of any abuse of the existing laws. Long may the people of England enjoy the benefit of such protection.

But, alas! for Ireland, the sacredness of property will exist only at the discretion—that is, the caprice—of Government. Proclamation may issue without cause, with nothing more than the allegation of a pretext—I may say with the allegation of the vicinity of a pretext—and behold at once all the property in the district is at the mercy of a single officer appointed by Government. Such officer may make any rate he thinks fit; he may levy any rate he thinks fit; he may seize on, by way of distraint, all the property of every occupier in the district, and sell off the distress so made to whom he pleases, and at what price he pleases.

Neither is the personal liberty of the Irishman more secure. He may, if this Bill passes into law, be arrested, or held to bail, or sent to and kept in prison at the caprice of every officer, superior, or subordinate. No legal evidence need be adduced—no legal protection is given—no *habeas corpus* can issue, or, if it do,

the "*sic volo, sic jubeo*," of a policeman concludes the question, and leaves the Irishman without relief.

And this is called a Union, and the Irish are to believe they are united to Great Britain. Yes, Lord Byron was right. It is a Union—a Union between the shark and its prey—between the devourer and the devoured.

But to return. I have said that my first objection to the Act was its perpetuity.

My second objection is to the title of the Bill. It is entitled, "A Bill for the better protection of life, and to facilitate the apprehension and detection of persons guilty of certain offences in Ireland."

This title is totally misapplied. It should be entitled, "A Bill to render property and life more insecure in Ireland, and to stimulate the people of that country to the commission of outrages and the perpetration of rebellion."

Should the proper time ever arrive for moving the insertion of the proper title, I would certainly move a title such in substance as I now describe to be prefixed to the Act.

Having thus given my first objection to the Act—namely, its perpetuity; and my second objection—namely, its false title, I proceed to my third objection, which is the miserably slight excuse which would authorise the Lord Lieutenant to place any part or parts of Ireland under the provisions of this Algerine Act. The process by which the country is made subject to the Act is by proclamation, and such proclamation may issue if any person commit murder, or even manslaughter, in any county, or part of a county, or shall shoot at, or stab, or cut, or wound anybody, or shall by any means whatsoever cause any bodily injury dangerous to life. In every such case, wide and extensive as it is, and trivial as may be some of such offences, yet, if any of them be committed, the Lord Lieutenant is by this Bill authorised to proclaim, not only the county where the offence was committed, but also any such part of any adjoining county as he may think fit. And he may then hand over not only the county in which the offence was committed

but also any adjoining innocent county, to as many resident magistrates, to as many sub-inspectors of constabulary, to as many head constables, to as many constables, and to as many sub-constables as he may think proper—all, all of whom are to be supported, clothed, paid, maintained, and provided for at the expense of the occupiers of the districts or counties included in the proclamation.

But still further. It is not necessary that any offence should be committed in or adjoining to any such proclaimed district. A county and an adjoining county may be proclaimed, without any offence having been committed in either; for it is precluded to inquire into the cause or pretext of issuing the proclamation. The people may be able to prove that no offence whatsoever was committed; yet that will not avail; the proclamation is itself, by the fifth section of the Bill, made conclusive evidence of its own validity.

There it is, the absolute and uncontrolled power of a Lord Lieutenant to proclaim any part of Ireland at his will, pleasure, or caprice. No inquiring into the facts he alleges—no proof allowed to prove the untruth of his reasons for acting. He wishes it; he chooses and he does it; the country is outlawed, and his fiat is fate.

If this be not despotism, I know not what is. We used to call these coercion acts "*Algerine Acts*," but since the French have introduced law and order to parts of Algeria, the name no longer applies.

Let us then, in future call these Bills Russian ukases, in honour of Nicholas!!!

I cannot conclude my remarks upon this Bill by this post. There are other matters which require my immediate communication with the Association.

Before I proceed, let me remark, and state my thorough conviction, that Ireland cannot have greater enemies than the Whigs among the peers. Nobody can be surprised at the line of conduct adopted by the Marquis of Lansdowne, or by Earl Grey. Some persons expected better from Lord Clanricarde;

but I really do not see that there were the least grounds for such an expectation. He has no claim to be considered an Irishman that I know of.

I am now anxious that the Association should distinctly understand the position we are placed in. The Association is most anxious to have the country free from the horrors of the wholesale murders of the clearance system, and of the often retaliatory and hideous assassinations. The Coercion Bill does not even purport to give any remedy for the crimes of the landlords, and it is more likely to provoke additional assassination than to check the progress of crime, or bring to punishment those who are already stained with the guilt of perpetrating those crimes.

What we allege is this:—

Firstly—That we are more anxious than the Government to prevent the commission of every kind of crime, and above all, the horrible crime of murder, whether perpetrated by landlord or tenant, occupier or proprietor.

Secondly—All former Coercion Acts have, after a short time, lost their force, and become, in truth, stimulants to additional atrocities.

Thirdly—That it is time to reverse the order of proceeding, and to begin with such conciliatory measures and laws as will place Ireland on perfect equality in civil, religious, and political rights with England and Scotland.

Fourthly—That the state of the Irish agricultural population should be taken into immediate consideration, with a view to relief, and to have the system of landlord and tenant ameliorated, so that there should be stability given to the occupation of the tenant, without prejudice to the landlord's right to an adequate rent.

Fifthly—That the emaciating evils arising from the Union, and the consequent absenteeism of our great proprietors, may be mitigated, by allowing to the tenant all the money, and the value of all labour expended by him in the improvement of the land in his occupation.

This, especially, we insist upon—that these measures of justice, conciliation, and peace, shall be carried out in legal and active operation, before any minister of the Crown shall dare bring into the House of Commons any Coercion Bill, or, in more appropriate phrase, any “Russian Ukase,” against Ireland.

It is true, that it has been said, that Sir Robert Peel has pledged himself, in answer to my questions, to bring in Bills on the part of the Government, to extend the franchises, and ameliorate the condition of the people of Ireland.

He has been reproached with this as a crime, by many of his former supporters. He is not guilty of any such crime. He is pledged to no such measures.

What has occurred is this : I gave notice of four questions to be put to Sir Robert Peel, giving him full opportunity to consider his replies. My questions related to Bills to be brought in by the Government.

My first question related to any Bill for the extension of the franchise in Ireland.

Sir Robert Peel's answer was most unsatisfactory. He said, he hoped that the Government would be able to bring in a Bill regulating the registry of voters in counties in Ireland, and also for altering, in some degree, the franchises. He said nothing of extension of franchise. He said nothing of regulating the registry in towns and cities, where a new regulation is most wanted.

It is quite clear, therefore, that he pledged himself to nothing—not even that he would positively bring in any such Bill this session. But when it is recollected that Lord Stanley's Bill, which went to annihilate the franchises in Ireland, was entitled, “A Bill to Regulate the Registry of Voters,” it will be seen how very chary Sir Robert Peel was to pledge himself to anything useful to Ireland, or, in fact, to anything definite.

My second question related to an augmentation of Irish members in a just proportion.

To this question he gave no answer; he was totally silent.

My third question related to an equalization of franchise and powers in the municipal corporations.

To this question his answer was nearly satisfactory. As I understood him, he promised a Bill for equalization, with, however, some reservation. What this reservation was to be he did not state. I am, however, afraid of him; the word "reservation," allows him to omit the most material franchise. It may mean much less; but at all events it is an ugly word, and I am afraid of it.

My fourth question related to a Bill to give to the tenants the full value of all their improvements.

To this question his answer was vague and unsatisfactory. He, however, gave a hope of bringing in a Bill on that subject; but his description of the intended Bill would answer such a Bill as Lord Stanley brought into the Lords last year. The tendency of what he said pointed at some such Bill as Lord Stanley's. He said nothing that could in any respect show his intention to bring in a Bill sufficiently extensive in its operations to be satisfactory to the tenants.

Upon the whole, therefore, it will be seen that Sir Robert Peel is guilty of no deceit. He has given no distinct pledge or promise, and what he did say was not by any means satisfactory. But the truth is this—promises, however distinct and emphatic, could not be accepted as any mitigation of, or compensation for a Coercion Bill.

What we reasonably insist on is, before any Coercion Bill should be brought in, that a new system should be actually acted upon. Franchises should be equalized, representation should be made more just and adequate, civil and religious rights should be equalized, and the law of landlord and tenant mitigated, to meet the evils of the Union and of absenteeism.

Let these things be done before any man talks to me of a Coercion Bill. Let no man dare to talk to us of a Coercion Bill until he has tried the experiment of justice. It is quite

clear that, until the causes of the murders are done away with, coercion cannot be a preventative, and can scarcely produce any but unavailing punishment. It will, however, produce more irritation and greater desperation.

But, let the people beware—let them recollect that the rebellion of '98 was got up, and fomented, and fostered into existence, to carry the Union. Let them be convinced that there are enough of evil-disposed persons ready to foment another rebellion, in order to prevent the Repeal of the Union.

There never was a period when it was so incumbent on the people of Ireland to be perfectly peaceable, and to keep within the strictest limits of the law.

It is in our peaceable exertions alone that we can hope to defeat this atrocious measure. The Bill is not as yet law, and we are entitled and bound to denounce it to the opposition and hatred of our country.

There is one comfort: the attempt to continue the government of Ireland by the means of coercion, with a refusal to do us justice, is an additional stimulant to augment the numbers and increase the zeal of the Repealers. The demonstration is complete. There is no peace, no tranquillity, no prosperity for Ireland, save in the Repeal of the Union and the restoration of Irish nationality.

Believe me to be, yours very faithfully,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

T. M. Ray, Esq.

*British Hotel, Jermyn-street, London,
6th March, 1846.*

MY DEAR RAY—In my first letter on the recent ukase of the British Minister, I stated only three of my objections to that oppressive and afflicting measure—the new Coercion Bill for Ireland.

My first objection consisted in the contrast between this and every former Coercion Bill. They were each and all of them temporary enactments ; they were limited in duration.

This alone is a perpetual law.

This is to form part and parcel of the perpetual constitution of Ireland. It has the hellish perfection of perpetuity of pain and infliction.

It will save time and trouble to every future minister. Despotie power will always be ready to their hands.

Ireland must exist, with her constitutional rights and liberties held by the sufferance, and with the evanescent permission of her despot for the time being. The Governor may be a violent partisan ; he may be what is still worse—a well-intentioned, weak-minded being ; a fit instrument to be used in the hands of irresponsible knaves. He may be a priggish formalist, who may think highly of technicalities and forms, and may have a sovereign disregard for substantial justice and truth.

In short, no matter what manner of man the Governor shall be, there is by this Bill to be vested in him the uncontrollable power to annihilate every vestige of constitutional liberty, and to enact irresponsible despotism.

His power is to be perpetual.

My first objection to the Bill, therefore, is its perpetuity.

It may, indeed, be said that, if the period shall arrive when murders shall totally cease in Ireland ; when there shall no longer be any manslaughter committed ; when no person shall be shot at, or stabbed, or cut, or wounded, nor any grievous bodily harm done to anybody ; when such millenium arrives, then that this law will be repealed.

I don't believe it. I don't believe that the English Government will ever voluntarily give up any power or dominion they may have over Ireland.

The case of 1782 is not, as we lawyers say, a case in point. England had just lost America by refusing to conciliate. She preserved Ireland by rational conciliation.

The causes that induced England to conciliate Ireland at that period are part of history. It is matter of prophecy, and I firmly believe, almost unerring prophecy, that causes of a similar nature will produce effects not dissimilar.

For the present, my first objection to the Bill is—its perpetuity.

My second objection consists in the absolute falsehood of its title.

It is not "A Bill for the better protection of life, and to facilitate the apprehension of persons guilty of offences in Ireland."

It really and in truth is a Bill for rendering more insecure life and property in Ireland, and stimulating to additional crime.

My third objection is, the absolute and unlimited power, on any excuse, however trivial, or upon any pretence, however untrue, to place the inhabitants of districts, and counties, and provinces in Ireland out of the pale of the law, and beyond the protection of any constitutional right.

I have said so much on these three points in my first letter that I shall now consider.

My fourth objection to this Bill consists in the unlimited power given to the Government over the persons and properties of the Irish people.

Let it be recollected that a proclamation under this Bill will be equally valid, whether it be founded on the assertion of a falsehood or the suggestion of a truth. In other words, truth or falsehood in the allegation of the proclamation is totally immaterial. The proclamation is of equal validity with the one as with the other.

Well, the proclamation having issued, my fourth objection consists in the extent of powers vested in the Lord Lieutenant by means of his own proclamation—true or false. The powers are these :

First—The power of appointing as many resident magistrates, inspectors of constabulary, head constables, petty constables, sub-constables, and constables, as the Lord Lieutenant shall think fit, such persons to reside in the proclaimed districts, and all of them to be clothed, fed, maintained, and paid at the expense of the occupying inhabitants of the proclaimed districts.

The second power is that of compelling the inhabitants of such proclaimed districts to remain within their respective places and homes from sunset to sunrise.

The third power, that of allocating any sum of money to any amount the Lord Lieutenant chooses, as a reward for the apprehension or discovery of any persons being guilty of any offence in the proclaimed districts.

The fourth power is to allocate any sum of money the Lord Lieutenant pleases to the relations of any person murdered in the proclaimed districts, or to any person permanently injured in that district.

The fifth power given in the Act is, that which makes the former power of allocating money to injured parties and their relations afflictive and grievous. There would be no objection to a reasonable allocation of money to compensate injured persons and their relatives; but that should be done in a constitutional way, out of funds voted by Parliament by annual votes. The objection to the fifth power is its totally unconstitutional nature.

This fifth power the Lord Lieutenant, by his proclamation, invests himself with is, that which enables him, if he thinks fit, to levy the most enormous sums of money from the occupying inhabitants of the proclaimed districts merely at his will and pleasure, without control, without check, without any legal responsibility.

The sixth power enables the Lord Lieutenant to appoint "such person" or "officer"—these are the words of the Act—"as he shall think fit, with full authority to make such rates as the Lord Lieutenant may deem necessary on every occupier whatsoever within the district." There is no limit to the Lord Lieutenant's caprice. The rate may amount to the entire value of the property of each occupier; no matter; a valid rate to the full extent of the last shilling the occupiers are worth may be made, and there is no relief, no remedy, no traverse, no appeal.

Mark, my countrymen, such a Bill as this is called a Bill for the protection of property!

The seventh power which the Lord Lieutenant acquires by his own proclamation is, that of levying and collecting such capricious rate, though it were, as I have said, to the full value of all the property in the district, and such collection or levying is to be made by the constabulary and other force in the district, who are authorised to distrain furniture, goods, chattels, cattle, corn, hay, potatoes, and, in short, all the property of the occupants, and to sell the distress for payment of the rate.

There is then a provision of a most oppressive nature—that is, that the entire rate shall be payable by, and levied on, the actual occupiers; and whereas the rate is based upon the poor rate, yet the Bill contains this provision, that, although persons holding lands under the value of £4 a year are considered too poor to be charged with poor rate, yet these wretched paupers are chargeable to the proclamation rate to be made pursuant to this Bill.

Another provision of the Bill is equally emphatic—it exempts (oh, let this be held in perpetual recollection) the landlords!—that is, the rich, from the payment of any part of the rates, and expressly provides that the tenant or occupier shall not deduct from his landlord any part of the rates.

There have been already many Coercion Bills for Ireland, but none of so unconstitutional a nature as far as relates to levying money off the subjects. In that respect this Bill stands pre-eminent in its unconstitutional atrocity.

But, to crown all, and, as if it were in utter contempt of the Commons of what is called the United Kingdom, this Bill, with such enormous powers of taxation, is made to originate in the House of Lords, which House, all constitutional authority tells us, has no power whatsoever to originate any taxation.

We say, with sorrowful respect for our masters, Lord St. Germain and others, that they ought not to carry their power of insulting the people of Ireland to quite so great an extent. A little moderation would become them, were it ever so little.

Let me, however, in the exercise of my duty, remind our worthy lords and masters, that Lord Devon's Commission has told the world the astounding fact, that the agricultural population of Ireland, being more than four millions, endure greater privations and suffering than any other people in civilized Europe.

Would it not be better to devote time, attention, and legislation to ameliorate, in some degree, the condition of so miserable a population, instead of devoting time, attention, and legislation to devise modes of unconstitutional coercion for that unhappy people.

There are many other horrible clauses in this Bill which I shall recur to again. But I wish to pause for one moment to call the marked and deliberate attention to the most important and absorbing consideration of one simple fact.

That matter of fact is this—that the entire scope of the Bill treats with indiscriminate and undistinguishing severity the innocent as well as the guilty, and more especially that in the attempt to detect a comparatively small number engaged in crime, punishment is not inflicted alone on the guilty smaller number, but is equally inflicted on the innocent great majority.

Thus, for example, a crime is committed, for it is all the same, in one district or county, and immediately a proclamation may issue of outlawry, not only against the district or county in which the crime was committed, but also any adjoining district or county. The number of criminals in such case

would, at least, in all probability, not exceed six or eight; the number of persons effectually punished in their property, would amount to ten thousand, twenty thousand, or perhaps, one hundred thousand, or even more.

It is a maxim in our law, and often quoted by the best of our judges, that it is better that one hundred guilty should escape than that one innocent should suffer. This Bill, however, goes on a directly opposite principle. It punishes one hundred innocent, upon the chance of inflicting chastisement upon one guilty.

And all this medley of legislation is facetiously called a Union between Great Britain and Ireland.

I reserve the consideration of the other and most hideous clauses for my next letter.

For the present I have only to observe, that it is reported that Lord St. Germain has graciously condescended to limit the duration of the Act to about four years. I hope and trust the firmness displayed by the Repeal Association has made him shrink from the more atrocious enactment; but the little lord is not to escape in that way. He formed, fostered, and matured the Bill, with all the odious tyranny of a perpetual law. If Ireland shall ever have justice done her, the iniquity of the project will, I trust, be adequately punished.

For my own part, I will not spare him a single observation. What a miserable estimate he must form of our love of constitutional rights. Freedom reckons by the hour—liberty is counted by the day; and he who would acquiesce in one day, one hour of servitude, is as despicable a miscreant as the base tyrant who imposes the chain.

My fifth objection to the Bill is the unlimited power it gives over the persons of the Irish people.

By the 15th and 16th sections, any person who happens to be out of his place of abode, at any time from one hour after sunset until sunrise, may be arrested by any constable or policeman, that is, by anybody, and transported for fifteen years. Mark the offence, and mark the punishment! Gracious

heaven ! fifteen years' transportation for being out of a man's house for five minutes.

It is not necessary to give any proof against him but the fact of his being out in the open air. It is not necessary to prove that he was out for any unlawful purpose. I repeat, the only proof, under this Bill, to enable the court, whatever it be, to condemn to fifteen years' transportation, is the mere fact of his being in the open air within the prohibited hours.

The prosecutor in such a case is bound to no proof of guilt ; but the unhappy prisoner is told he will be allowed to prove his innocence !!!

See what a total violation of the first principles of our criminal law this is. Our criminal law declares emphatically, in the language of all the judges, that every British subject is to be deemed and taken as innocent until his guilt is proved—proved on the oath of witnesses. But this Bill reverses the maxim, and declares the man guilty unless he is able to prove, on the oath of witnesses, his innocence.

Fifteen years' transportation upon an accusation, unless innocence be proved !!!

I have often spoken harshly of the Emperor Nicholas, but I will do him the justice to say, that I do not believe he ever issued such a ukase as this.

The sixth objection to the Act is another frightful power. It is one enabling the magistrates to issue a warrant to enable any person to break, by force, into any house in which liquor of any kind is sold, in a proclaimed district, and to arrest any person in the house not being an inmate or traveller ; and such person, for the mere fact of being in such a house within the prohibited hours, is liable to fifteen years' transportation.

Mark this : a man is found in a house, where liquor is sold, at night, unarmed, defenceless, and for that offence—offence !—he is liable to be transported for fifteen years.

I am sick of this Bill. There is a group of other offences—some not punishable at all at common law, and the others punishable only by fine or imprisonment—which are made

liable, in proclaimed districts, to transportation for fifteen years.

Two topics more, briefly touched, will bring me to a conclusion.

The first relates to the imperative necessity of every Repealer exerting himself to prevail on the people to keep the peace, and not to violate the law. There never was a period when it was so emphatically true—"That whoever commits a crime strengthens the enemy."

The next topic relates to what fills my mind with the bitterest anguish, namely, the hideously mistaken and unconstitutional course that the Ministry adopt in respect to Ireland. We, Repealers, are most anxious to put an end to crime, and to see the country tranquillized. We know that it can be done by adopting the proper course. Let the Irish people be conciliated, instead of Coercion Bills.

Firstly—Bring in Bills to equalize in Ireland the elective franchise with that in England.

Secondly—Give Ireland her equal proportion of representatives in the House of Commons.

Thirdly—Give Ireland equal municipal rights with England, and give them without reservation.

Fourthly—Above all things immediately amend the law of landlord and tenant. Give the landlord his adequate rent, but secure to the tenant possession of the land until he shall be repaid for all actual improvements made by him upon the premises.

Fifthly—Place the law of landlord and tenant upon the same footing with the law respecting all other contracts, and take away all the relics of the feudal superiority of the landlord.

Sixthly—Impose, without delay, a heavy absentee tax in Ireland upon all non-resident landlords, and apply the produce to lighten the burdens of county cess and poor rates on the occupying tenants.

Let the Government do all these things before it presumes to bring into the House of Commons a Bill to trample down all constitutional rights and liberties. They may deem it a

shorter and easier course to abrogate the constitution than to concede constitutional equality.

Is the Parliament of Britain only competent to coerce, and not to equalize, the franchises and rights of both countries? I believe so.

Still there is one course open to them—it is that of abdicating a power which they abuse, and cannot apply to useful purposes.

Let them avow their incapacity, and restore to the people of Ireland their domestic legislature. Let them thus establish tranquillity and prosperity in Ireland, secure the stability of the Throne, and the permanence of the connection between both countries.

Believe me to be, very faithfully yours,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To T. M. Ray, Esq.

*British Hotel, Jermyn-street, London,
20th March, 1848.*

MY DEAR RAY—The atrocious Bill has been brought into the House of Commons from the House of Lords. This more than Russian ukase is now before us in a still more unconstitutional shape than it assumed when it was brought into the House of Lords.

I have already detailed many prominent objections to the Bill. Objections accumulate, however, as one goes along, and more overpowering disgust is excited and, indeed, required by the additional unconstitutional enactments now contained in the Bill.

One would have supposed that the violation of every constitutional principle was exhausted in the parts of the Bill which I have already commented upon, but that is a mistake. The framers of this Bill have found out another constitutional principle to be violated, and they have taken care to give the Bill a vicious perfection by outraging that principle.

The principle to which I allude is that which prohibits the enactment of an *ex post facto* law, so that no punishment shall be inflicted for any action which was not penal at the time of its being done.

Look to this Bill for an illustration of that rule, and for its gross violation, and you will find the section, now marked No. 2, which was introduced into it for the express purpose of punishing bygone alleged crimes—that is, crimes alleged to have been committed heretofore. Take, for example, the occupiers of land in a particular district. The Lord Lieutenant was empowered by a former statute to proclaim a district, as requiring an additional constabulary force, for being in what he may call a state of disturbance; but the innocent occupiers of that district were not made liable by the then existing law to the enormous mulcts and pecuniary fines (for they are such in substance) contained in the present Bill. But what is done at

present by this Bill is, that it transfers the pecuniary punishments under this Bill, and gives that punishment by reason of the issue of a proclamation and of disturbances that existed eighteen or twenty-four months ago, or perhaps still further back.

No matter how far back the former disturbances or proclamation may be, they are all hooked in *ex post facto* by the present Bill, and the punishment for them may be the forfeiture of the entire property of the occupiers of the district, or at least of some of them, probably of many.

There is an insulting affectation at humanity in lessening the punishment of being absent from the dwelling-house within prohibited hours from fifteen years' transportation to only seven. Mark the crime, and mark the humane punishment. The crime is, being five minutes, or even less, out of the dwelling-house at night; the punishment is only seven years' transportation. And this, forsooth, is merciful ! And this is boasted of as being a great concession ; the former punishment being fifteen years' transportation, just as if the term made any difference to the unhappy Irish peasant. How is he ever to come back from New South Wales ? And then the severance of his dearest affections—the tearing of his heart-strings. . . . But I must desist ; it almost maddens me to think of such a punishment for such a crime, and especially when the proof of innocence is thrown upon the accused, and not the proof of guilt upon the accuser—a most manifest perversion of law and justice.

There is another perversion of law and justice incidentally introduced into the eighth section ; it is this—it is provided by the section that, in the first instance, when a person is arrested for being out of his habitation at night he shall be brought before the magistrates at petty sessions, who are to investigate the case ; if the majority of the magistrates are against him, he is to be committed to gaol as a matter of course. Suppose the magistrates equally divided, one would imagine that the accused would have the benefit of that division, especially for so trivial an offence ; but no such thing. Equality on the bench is equivalent to a majority against the prisoner.

This iniquitous law comes in with a casting vote against the unhappy prisoner, and thus, in everything, great and small, tramples upon constitutional liberty.

The eleventh and twelfth sections are ludicrously verbose and atrociously severe.

Referring to proclaimed districts, the eleventh section enacts the punishment of transportation for any person who may be found in a house of public resort, licensed.

Secondly—In an unlicensed house.

Thirdly—In any house in which malt liquors are sold.

Fourthly—In any house in which spirituous liquors are sold.

Fifthly—In any house in which malt liquors are consumed.

Sixthly—In any house in which tea, or coffee, or provisions, liquors, or refreshments of any sort are sold.

Seventhly—In any house in which tea, or coffee, or provisions, liquors, or refreshments are consumed.

Eighthly—Or in any shop wherein tea, coffee, provisions, or liquors, or refreshments are sold.

Ninthly—In any shop wherein tea, coffee, provisions, liquors, or refreshments of any sort are consumed.

Tenthly—Or in any room wherein tea, coffee, provisions, liquors, or refreshments of any sort are sold.

Eleventhly—Or in any room in which tea, coffee, provisions, liquors, or refreshments of any sort are consumed.

I have thus been minute in analyzing the eleventh section, in order that there may be no disguise practised by reason of the verbose nature of the Act. Dissecting the section, as I have done, that it might run in these words, for this is its meaning :—

“Be it enacted, that any person not being one of the family, or a traveller, found within any house in the proclaimed district, within the prohibited hours, is liable to seven years’ transportation.”

The crime consists in being in any house but one’s own in the district. I say, emphatically, in any house; for, surely, in every house malt liquor, or spirituous liquor, or tea, or coffee,

or provisions, or liquor generally, including water, or refreshment of some sort, is consumed.

It is, therefore, totally idle to enumerate the particulars. The words, "any house," supplies the same meaning, and would be more simple in expression, if simplicity were not a thing carefully avoided by the framers of the Bill.

Under this section, therefore, if a gentleman dines with his neighbour—if a farmer takes a glass of punch in a friend's house—even, if a lady takes a cup of tea with any of her acquaintances in the district—the gentleman, the farmer, and the lady are, each and every of them, guilty of a misdemeanour, and liable to be transported, unless they return home before one hour after sunset.

Behold what ludicrous and absurd legislation ! It includes in guilt, everybody, and every house, and every liquor, including water. Alas for the poor teetotallers !

Let me here remark another peculiarity in this penal section. Any person found in another person's house within the prohibited hours, is liable to transportation by the very fact, and is not allowed the miserable privilege of proving the negative of crime, namely, that he was there on a lawful occasion.

The reason of concealing the real meaning of the eleventh section, by smothering that meaning with verbiage, is discovered by the twelfth section.

For, mark, the twelfth section authorises any justice of the peace, or anyone having a warrant from him for that purpose, to demand admission into any such house as is included in the eleventh section ; and, in case admission is not given in what such person shall deem a reasonable time, to break open the door, and enter by force into the house ! In England, every man's house is his castle, until some offence is charged upon him by oath. In Ireland, neither oath nor crime is necessary ; all is left to the discretion of the magistrate, or his deputy. And this is the way that the Union is worked out.

A few words more, and I shall have closed.

The fourteenth section, among other things, enacts that if

any person shall, by any means howsoever, endeavour to deter or intimidate any person from appearing or acting as a witness, he shall be guilty of a transportable offence.

Now, nobody should be intimidated from appearing as a witness; but it may be quite justifiable, and even a duty, to deter a false-witness from appearing as a witness, by representing to him the horrid guilt of perjury, and the extreme iniquity of accusing an innocent person. This would be a duty and not a crime; and yet, for the performance of this duty a man may be punished by seven years' transportation.

There is one important observation more: In general, a transportable offence is made a felony. By this Act, there is no felony created, all the offences are misdemeanours.

Would you wish to know the reason? Would you wish to understand the secret? Listen!

At present, every man who is tried in Ireland for a felony has twenty peremptory challenges to the jurors. He can set aside twenty jurors without assigning any cause. Any man tried in Ireland for a misdemeanour has no peremptory challenge.

Do you understand?

I have now gone through many clauses of the Bill. There are others which, in a Bill of less atrocious features, would deserve a marked reprobation. But I have done. I am wearied and disgusted with this preposterous attempt to legislate for Ireland.

Thus punishing the effects, and taking no care to remove the causes.

"Misery in Ireland, unequalled in any other country in Europe," says the Devon Commissioners. Not one particle of alleviation of the causes of that misery. No Coercion Bill for the landlords who exterminate by the clearance system. No mitigation of the facilities for working out that most sanguinary system. Coercion, and no remedy for the innumerable evils that produce the maddening misery of the Irish peasant.

Let me, however, be distinctly understood. There is no excuse for murder; nothing can excuse it. There is no palliation for

murder ; nothing can palliate it. There is no mitigation of the diabolical crime of murder.

Whoever commits the infernal crime of murder deserves justly all the punishment the law of man can inflict. Against the murderer the red arm of God's vengeance is bared. "Vengeance is mine," saith the Lord, "and I will repay." Yes, the vengeance of God will, sooner or later, meet the murderer, and his unatoned-for crime will plunge him in eternal reprobation.

Every honest man, every good man, every Christian should assist in detecting and bringing to punishment the murderer. Every man who does not assist in the detection and punishment of the murderer, participates in the horrible guilt of his crime.

Ireland can never prosper as long as those crimes continue. The curse of heaven is upon those crimes.

Would to heaven that Government were wise enough to remove the causes of our miseries and crimes ; but, alas ! it would require all the knowledge, and all the interest and anxiety of a domestic Legislature, to procure such blessed results.

Yours very faithfully,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To T. M. Ray, Esq.

The following letter explains O'Connell's most private feelings, and we may add, reveals his keen, and too little appreciated, sufferings in connection with the "Young Ireland" question.

LETTER TO THE RIGHT REV. DR. BLAKE, LORD BISHOP OF
DROMORE.

Merrion-square, Dublin, November 21st, 1846.

MY EVER REVERED AND VENERATED LORD—For the fifty years that I have been engaged in politics, I never received so deep and heart-rending a pang as by the receipt of your letter of the 20th instant. Oh, how unhappy I am that you, my loved and venerated lord, should not more distinctly behold the real cause of disunion between us—between us, sincere Repealers, and those who have seceded from us. You do, indeed, my dearest lord, wrong me, if you think that I am not most intensely anxious to heal the dissension that has arisen in our body. There is no practicable sacrifice that I would not make for the purpose of reconciliation. I would consent to any personal disgrace or ignominy for that purpose. I would suffer any infliction for that purpose. I would consent that seceders should spit in my face, instead of shaking hands, for that purpose. Do not, my ever venerated and loved lord, doubt my perfect sincerity. But there are things which I cannot do, and which you are certainly the last man living to advise me to do—namely, to sacrifice principle, and to risk and put in jeopardy the liberties and even the lives of all the members of the Association.

The point hinges upon this. We, the sincere Repealers, have placed the basis of our exertions on this: the carrying the Repeal by peaceable, legal, and constitutional means, and by *none other*. The seceders, on the contrary, insist that, in case

we do not succeed by peaceable and legal means, we should reserve to ourselves the use, in any favourable opportunity, of the sword.

Now, my venerated lord, I solemnly, as a lawyer of many years' standing, assure your lordship, with the most perfect truth, that the plan of the seceders would, if we were to accede to or even tolerate it in the Association, involve every member of the Association, including your lordship, in the guilt of high treason.

I do not, my dearest lord, deceive you—I am incapable of doing it—and I most emphatically tell you, that, if we were to-morrow to admit the seceders upon their own principles, we should either dissolve the Association or render ourselves, in point of law, liable to at least imprisonment, with the greatest risk of incurring actual execution on a scaffold.

I now, my venerated lord, conjure you to withdraw your letter, and not to require it to be read in the Association. If I were in your presence, I would go on my knees to ask this favour. I do pray you not to refuse me.

Such a letter, coming from you, and making light of the difference between us and the seceders, would be considered by the public, and made use of by the seceders, as an approval of their physical-force principles; as an approval, in short, of the illegality and treasonable nature of their principles.

I know full well that no man living would be farther than you, my lord, from intentionally giving the slightest sanction to the doctrines of the seceders.

I have received much and many acts of kindness from your lordship. No man can revere you more than I do. In one thing alone can I compete with your lordship, and that is, in the knowledge of law; and I solemnly assure you as a lawyer, that allowing the seceders to return to the Association without disavowing physical force, would involve us all in the guilt, and many of us in the punishment, of treason.

Permit me, then, my dear lord, once more to ask you to withdraw your letter. I shall not call at the Post-office for the £3 until I hear from you again.

I have the honour to be, with the most profound respect and veneration,

My ever dearest Lord,

Your ever devoted humble servant,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

O'CONNELL'S REPEAL POLICY.

Letter to the Right Rev. Dr. Blake, Bishop of Dromore.

Derrynane Abbey, September 18th, 1840.

MY DEAR AND REVERED LORD—I cannot describe the pleasure which your lordship's letter of the 3rd inst. gave me. I was beyond expression delighted at the sanction which your deliberate and calm judgment confers on my now exclusive plan for the amelioration of Ireland—the restoration of our domestic Legislature. But that satisfaction had, I trust, a higher and better foundation than anything personal to myself could have. Yes, my cordial gratification at its contents was founded on this—that such a letter coming from a Prelate of your lordship's retiring and unobtrusive habits, and of—I must say it—your high character for learning and piety, is actually part of our means of success—assuring as it does the timid that under such auspices as yours the Repeal of the Union agitation must be carried on, and its triumphant result secured, by means exclusively moral and peaceable, without the violation of any law—human or divine—and without injury to person or to property.

Your letter is also of inestimable value by the declaration it contains of your adhesion to this now demonstrated truth—that there is no possibility of the people of Ireland obtaining the redress of any of their multitudinous grievances from the British Legislature. Whatever may happen with respect to the “Repeal” (*sic.*) this, at least, is certain; that the present House of Commons will do but little indeed for us, whilst the House of Lords, by an overwhelming majority, ostentatiously and insultingly proclaims a determination to do nothing beneficial for Ireland,

and to take away as much from us as they can; a determination also evinced with respect to the elective franchise the most precious of all existing human rights, by six majorities of the House of Commons, in no less than four of which the ministers themselves and all their supporters were defeated. After this, my lord, you are justified in thinking that our domestic legislature is the only source from which we can possibly derive redress or relief.

I should, of course, have felt it my duty to acknowledge, as I now do in the most respectful manner, the honour of your lordship's letter; but this acknowledgment is now dictated firmly by the command of a body destined, I believe, to engrave its name on the brightest page of Irish history—"The Loyal Repeal Association of Ireland."

Your letter was manifestly intended to be laid before that body; I accordingly and proudly laid it before them, and they have, by a formal resolution, commanded me to reply to the statement so clearly and so distinctly made by your lordship, of the principal objections raised by the "Unionists" to the restoration of the Irish Parliament. I proceed to do that with all that sincerity which is due to the revered prelate whom I address, and to the gravity and vital importance of the subject of which I treat.

The first objection, in point of order, which is stated in your lordship's letter, as made "under the form of supposition," is this—"In the event of England declaring war, might not the Irish Legislature differ in opinion from her, and refuse the supplies of men and money?"

My answer is unequivocal; certainly, my lord, such a case may arise. The difficulty may arise. The fact is not to be denied; the amount of evil arising from the possible existence of such a fact, or even from its actual existence, is really the matter to be discussed.

I contend, that the possibility of such a fact would be no evil. I contend, further, that its actual occurrence, if it shall

occur, would be no evil, but one of the greatest advantages and blessings to be derived from the Repeal of the Union.

Let me first observe, that there is an inaccuracy in talking of *England* going to war. It is not the English nation that goes to war; the prerogative of making peace or declaring war belongs exclusively to the reigning monarchy. If the monarch of England declared war, it would also be a declaration of war by the monarch of Ireland. Ireland would, therefore, be equally at war as England; the monarch of both being at present, and of right continuing always one and the same person.

Now, the objection really exists with the same theoretic force, and has the same solution if England stood alone in the world, and Ireland were, as the late Sir Joseph York wished, sunk in the bottom of the ocean.

Our Constitution is not formed to run in all things together smoothly—that is the principle of a despotism; but one of checks and reciprocal control in which consists, if not the principle, at least the practice of free institutions.

If England, as I said, stood alone, the objection above stated applies to her. England—that is, the monarch—may bear war, and the English House of Commons may refuse the supplies of men and money. Nay, further, England may be at war, and the Commons may vote the supplies of men and money, but the House of Lords may refuse both, and resist altogether supplies voted by the Commons. This objection, therefore, already exists in the English Constitution, is inherent in that Constitution, and is one of its advantages and not matter of censure. The just cause of censure is, that this constitutional advantage has not been more frequently made available by either House, and profligate wars more frequently prevented or terminated.

The real strength of the objection is this: that it is more probable that one Parliament should grant supplies, than that two would concur in granting them. I admit that such probability exists; but what a paltry objection it is to do so great a

national measure as the giving Ireland the income of her own soil to spend, and the protection of her own Legislature, that forsooth one thing is more probable than another. But there is still more: is it at all probable that if the war were in its nature just and necessary, and engaged in to promote or to vindicate the essential interests of these countries, that the Irish Parliament would, any more than the English, refuse the supplies. Alas! the contrary is the fact, and all history proves it: that popular assemblies are more ready to approve of and support wars, than monarchs themselves; and Irish history shows that the Irish Parliament, during its separate existence, more particularly from the days of Charles I. to the Union, and especially at the glorious era of 1782, equalled, if not exceeded the means of this country in the liberality of the supplies of men and money.

The former history of the Irish Parliament is, therefore, an additional answer to the supposed objection.

But I will banish the supposition, and take for granted the reality. Would not such reality be a blessing—I would say almost a celestial blessing; because it would be an additional obstacle placed in the way of going to war at all. Can there be anything more desirable than another impediment to going to war? What is war? The multiplication and congregation of all human sufferings and all human immoralities; all these crimes which disgrace individuals, and render them obnoxious to punishment by human law and bring down the vengeance of God. All these crimes are the daily occupation of the state and existence of war. Besides the occasional occurrence of such horrors as the 15th regiment perpetrated in Canada, and as were enacted on a larger scale upon our allies, the Spanish inhabitants of Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajos, and St. Sebastian. It is not, my lord, possible to describe in language of suitable horror, the plunderings, the vileness, the violations, the multiplied murders that were committed with perfect impunity upon the Spanish people, our allies and friends, by the *glorious heroes*, as they are called, who captured these towns.

Yes, I do hope the Irish Parliament will stop supplies when required to carry into effect such atrocities. I do confidently address you, my lord, for YOU are a minister of PEACE. I confidently address you and your colleagues in the ministry of the God of charity, in favour of that Irish Parliament, which might, and I hope, would, render war less frequent, and would prevent the recurrence of all the enormities of that horrible state.

But I put the matter on another footing. Let any rational man look back to all the wars in which England has been engaged for more than a century. Let men look at their causes their mode of being carried on, and their results, and tell me what interest had the people of England therein. But I am now on the Repeal, and will confine myself to Ireland. I therefore, ask to be shown what interest had the people of Ireland in any of these wars?

The two latest, for example, the American war of Revolution and the French war. What had the people of Ireland to gain by these wars? What interest had they in them? The first was a war against American liberty. The interest of the Irish people was against, not for that war. Yet what oceans of Irish blood was shed in that accursed quarrel, and we are groaning still beneath the burdens it has created. So, likewise, of the French war. What was it, to the people of Ireland what form of Government the French nation might choose to adopt? Yet this quarrel, in which Ireland was no more interested than Lapland, costs myriads upon myriads of Irish lives, and pressed so hard on the Irish poor that taxation became actually unproductive by reason of the magnitude of its pressure.

My opinion decidedly is, that there never should be war—that what is called national honour is a sanguinary cruelty when it stimulates to the cutting of mankind, and that national interests are capable of being maintained in the present state of society, by reason, justice, and the power of opinion, as well as by peaceable retaliation for injuries, without the universal use of the sword or the sins and crimes of warfare.

With these opinions, for which I respectfully claim

your countenance, I insist that, if the supposed objections were well founded, and that the Irish Parliament refused Irish supplies to carry on a war which that Parliament disapproved of, it would be a great blessing and an additional motive to desire the Repeal of the Union, and not any argument against that measure. I am the more anxious to express these sentiments at a moment like this when England appears to be on the very verge of a war, to promote, as I think, the interests of and an alliance with one of the most sanguinary, and coldly unrelenting of the persecutors of Christian truth that lived since the days of Dioclesian—I mean, of course, the Emperor of Russia.

Again, my dear and venerated lord, I turn to the objection of the Irish Parliament keeping the Irish people free from the burdens of an English war, and on my part I beg to put a case equally, “under the form of a supposition.” Suppose, then, that England were to engage again in war—suppose that war to be totally unnecessary, most unjust, unreligious, and cruel, at the same time directly adverse to the commercial, manufacturing, and agricultural interests of Ireland. Now, this is not an imaginary case, for it was actually the case of the American war of the Revolution. Suppose England once more engaged in such a war. I now turn, my lord, on your objectors, and ask them, indignantly, is not Ireland now, with the Union, and by reason of the Union, liable to have her supplies of men and money drained from her in such a war, without her consent, against her will, as against her interests. If every man of her one hundred and five members voted against such a war, what are they to the five hundred and fifty-three Scotch and English, who might once again grant supplies for such a war? Place the supposition of the Unionists alongside of mine. Mine has the advantage of being supported by historic facts of recent occurrence. Compare the results of both our systems of Government of Ireland. Mine would give protection to Ireland, and save her effectually from such a war. Their system leaves Ireland bound hand and foot to be dragged at the wheels of England’s

car of war. But, alas! your Unionists have the forms, without the hearts, of Irishmen, and every country is to be preferred by them to their own.

My lord, I have disposed of this objection I have shown the improbabilities of its occurrence. But, better still, I have shown that, if it did occur, in point of fact it would be beneficial and protective to Ireland, and also repulsive of the crimes and horrors of war. I claim it as an argument not against, but for the Repeal of the Union—that Repeal which would be surrounded on every side with blessing to Ireland. Permit me, then, to make my triumphant conclusion—Hurrah for the Repeal!

I come next to the second objection, “under the form of supposition,” which the Unionists make to the Repeal, they ask, you say— “*Might not the Catholic majority exclude their fellow-subjects of other religious communions from places of trust and emolument?*”

I am ready, as you, my lord, anticipate, to answer this question, so as to make it impossible that any fair or just man of ordinary capacity should not admit that the objection raised upon it has not any, even the smallest, foundation. I do, indeed, my most esteemed lord, thank you for giving us the opportunity to banish the fears of the timid and satisfy the doubts of the reasonable.

There are two ways in which after the Repeal Protestants may be excluded from offices of trust or emolument—*first*, by legislative enactments or the interposition of religious tests inconsistent with their belief, as the Catholics were excluded by the penal laws; or, *secondly*, by the practice of an adverse Government, as the Catholics were by the Wellington and Peel Government during the time of the Emancipation that they remained in office.

I will take up each of these modes, but begin with the first, which would be in its nature a great grievance to the Protestants, and one against which if there were a rational apprehension of its occurrence every precaution should be taken.

The first embraces this question—*could* or *would* the Irish restored Parliament enact penal laws against Protestants?

I utterly deny that it *would*. I am able to demonstrate that it **COULD NOT** enact any such laws.

The Catholic majority supposing—a supposition which is somewhat gratuitous—a Catholic majority, I assert, **WOULD NOT** enact any such laws, and the reasons which I submit in support of such assertion are these:—

First—The Irish Catholics of the present day have been brought up in the assertion of the principle of freedom of conscience. One of the most powerful arguments in favour of that principle was made by your lordship at the last public dinner which I attended at Newry. Laymen, priests, and prelates, all the Catholics now living have appealed. It was our grand argument in favour of Emancipation. We urged it, we insisted on it, we succeeded upon it? Is it possible to suppose that we, Catholics, would abandon our own doctrines, renounce our own principles, or expose ourselves to the mockery and derision of the world, and especially could we be so silly as to arm those we might now seek to persecute with a damning proof of our insincerity, falsehood, and turpitude, as our violating that principle would inflict upon us. No, it would not be in human nature that such depravity should exist, or in human folly to exhibit that depravity, if (which is impossible) it did exist. The Protestants, therefore, could not possibly apprehend any violation of that principle from the present generation of Catholics, and it would be absurd to suppose that we are to produce a generation to succeed us with principles worse than our own. No; an objection to what the next generation may do—an objection thus in the *paulo post-futurum*—would be laughed at by all reasonable men.

Secondly—But the principle we thus professed and profess has nothing in it simulated or unstable. The events which have occurred since the Reformation, as those which we have ourselves witnessed, all show the futility of persecution. Besides, the doctrines of Catholic truth, in which we believe, all have

their foundation in that universal benevolence, and all-comprehending charity which makes us see in every fellowman a brother, and teaches us that to use force or fraud towards him is a crime, cruel in its nature, unjust in its principle, and incapable of being productive of any but the worst consequences of crime, and impart unjust punishment towards him.

Thirdly—The time is gone by when any species of persecution would be endured by the more exalted reason and education of any persuasion of Christians. Hideous but salutary example, has shown us all, that one may make hypocrites but cannot make converts by any kind of persecution. That the low but vexatious intolerance, which gratifies itself and teazes, rather than torments, others, by the exclusion of persons of a different persuasion from offices of honour and emolument, for their dissent, has no tendency to diminish that dissent or to create conversions; but, on the contrary, is sure to make those who are thus unjustly excluded more tenacious of their own opinions, whilst they detest the religion of the persecutor, and adhere with a feeling of pride, as well as of perseverance, to their own. The time is gone by when good men could in any way sanction intolerance, and when crafty men could think it a means of increasing the number of their sect.

Fourthly—Is it not perfectly clear that if a Catholic majority in the Irish Parliament were to evince in that Parliament a disposition to enact restrictive or exclusive laws against Protestants in Ireland, they would thereby not only stimulate, but justify, and even require, the Protestant majority in the English Parliament to pass similar and, perhaps, more severe laws against the English and Scotch Catholics. It would indeed be inevitable that the British Catholics should be persecuted if we were directly or indirectly to persecute the Irish Protestants.

Fifthly—It is impossible to imagine that there should be found one Catholic in Ireland so base, as by joining or allowing any kind or species of Protestant persecution or exclusion to give a triumph to, and justify, the calumnies of the M'Ghees,

the Stowells, the Butts, the Todds, and the M'Neills. The very anticipation of the savage shout of exultation which that gang would justly and properly raise, would deter every Catholic from, for a single moment, participating in or tolerating any one bigoted law or practice.

Sixthly—You know well, most esteemed lord, that all the great examples of assertion of the rights of conscience have been afforded by Catholics. It was Catholics who first, after the Reformation, passed in the Diet of Poland comprehensive emancipation laws in favour of the Protestants of Poland. It was an *unanimous* law because every one member of the Diet might have stopped it by means of his veto ; and there were numbers of Roman Catholic Bishops in that Diet.

Seventhly—You know well, most respected lord, that the next great example of Christian liberality after the Reformation was given by the Parliament of Catholic Maryland in America ; when a comprehensive Emancipation Act of their Protestant brethren was unanimously passed ; having been drawn up by one of the most meritorious, but most calumniated, Order—the Jesuits.

Eighthly—You know well, most excellent lord, that another great instance of similar Christian benevolence was exhibited by the Diet of Hungary, who, in 1792, passed a thoroughly satisfactory and complete Emancipation law for the Protestants of Hungary, not only giving them complete equality of civil rights, but actually exempting them from the *payment of tithes*. That Act, indeed, deserved to be called an Emancipation Act.

Ninthly—But why should I dwell on foreign instances or examples, when I have the Catholics of Ireland to refer to—triumphantly and proudly to refer to—the Irish Catholics who were, since the Reformation, three times restored to power after suffering the most cruel and sanguinary persecution ?

Yet, they never retaliated, they never persecuted one single human being ; but I prefer using the language of a living Protestant historian to my own. Here they are—speaking of the reign of Mary, in England, *Bloody Mary*—he says :—

555 *We have always Repudiated Religious Persecution.*

"The restoration of the old religion was effected without violence; no persecution of the Protestants was attempted; and several of the English who fled from the furious zeal of Mary's inquisitors, found a safe refuge amongst the Catholics of Ireland. It is but justice to this maligned body to add, that, on three occasions of their obtaining the upper hand, they never injured a single person in life or limb, for professing a religion different from their own."

This passage is found at page 169, of the first volume of the "History of the Civil Wars of Ireland," by W. C. Taylor.

And we, my Lord Bishop, we are as good as our ancestors; we have always repudiated, and always will repudiate and condemn religious persecution in every shape, mode, or degree—neither (may I say it by way of parenthesis) do any one of us believe that our pure and holy faith requires the aid of profane law, or iniquitous enactments, to fortify in their belief its votaries, or to augment their numbers.

We have, my venerated and beloved lord, a generous and not a vain confidence in the power of truth and the efficacy of Catholic piety, and scorn any base or unworthy auxiliary, as persecution must ever be.

I have dwelt with pleasure but at quite unnecessary length on to me the cheering and consoling proofs that the Irish Catholics would not persecute if they could. But there remains behind the conclusive proof that no Catholic majority in the Irish Parliament could, even if it *would*, persecute or exclude from office any Protestant. The proof is this :—

First—The King or Queen of Ireland must be the same as that of England and consequently must be a Protestant. It is impossible to suppose that such monarchs would assent to any bill offered by the Irish Houses of Parliament for the purpose of persecuting in any way the Protestant subjects of any part of the realm.

Secondly—A very large proportion of the House of Commons of Ireland will necessarily be Protestants. So that no Protestant persecution Act could reasonably be supposed to pass the House of Commons against the natural and vigorous

opposition of such a number of Protestants, fortified by every liberal Catholic in the House, and with all the liberality of the entire nation at their side.

Thirdly—But suppose such a Bill to pass by a Catholic majority in the House of Commons, there is the House of Lords, full nine-tenths of whom are Protestants—a house whose members can be increased only by the Crown, which is Protestant. So that it is, on the part of the Unionists, ridiculously absurd to imagine that any Protestant persecution or exclusion Bill could by any possibility pass the Irish House of Lords.

It is utterly impossible.

I have, my lord, taken more pains than were at all necessary to show that by a Repeal of the Union it is impossible that any such Protestant restrictive law could be passed by any Catholic majority—a majority which, though it may exist in one House of Parliament, could not possibly be found in both; besides, the monarch must continue a Protestant.

The third objection which you, my lord, have stated may be *now* easily dismissed, as I have anticipated a reply to the only formidable matter it contains. It is this—"Might we not see offices filled by persons selected, not on account of their superior fitness for them, but by that fallacious and very corrupt rule that each religious denomination should be represented according to its numbers."

I do admit that such a rule would be both fallacious and corrupt. It would also be absurd and indefensible. But I deny that it would arise or be brought into action after the Repeal. Why should we anticipate so profligate a conduct on the part of the executive? I have already shown that it could not be the result of any anti-Protestant law. Neither is it calculated in any respect to be the subject of legislative enactment.

It is put forward by Unionists with a view rather to suggest some desire for Catholic ascendancy—or rather the fear of such an ascendancy. I have also demonstrated the futility

of any such fears, and after that we are entitled to dismiss their objection without much ceremony.

Besides, one great object of the Repeal is, to secure good and rational Government. Its natural tendency must inevitably be to secure that species of administration of the affairs of Ireland; and therefore it is as clear as noon day that the effect of the Repeal is utterly inconsistent with the "*fallacious and corrupt rule*" which the objection suggests. Instead of adding one, we should by the Repeal be able to abolish every existing fallacious and corrupt rule, and govern the country by *maxims* of justice, equity, honesty, and common sense.

Permit me, then, to repeat our watchword of peace, concord, and fraternal affection—"Hurrah for the Repeal."

I cannot conclude this letter without appealing by its means to the Protestants of the land to dismiss foolish fears, idle jealousies, past animosities, and present prejudices, and to rally forth, with their Catholic fellow-countrymen, for the peace, prosperity, and constitutional freedom of their native land.

Why, oh, why! should the love of fatherland, the inevitable attachment to the land of their birth, the exalting impulses of liberty, be banished from their minds and affections? Are they not Irishmen as well as we are? Is not Ireland their country as well as ours? Why should not their country once again take its station amongst the nations of the earth? Why should they and their country be depressed and left in the attitude of a grovelling inferiority?

You, my loved lord, and men like you, prove the safety, the sanctity, the integrity of our struggle. You prove that, in a contest which you countenance, there can be nothing of force or violence, of injustice or injury—that no property will be injured—no life sacrificed. Innocent and holy is our strife. It is for the protection and prosperity of Ireland—to extinguish grinding opposition, to banish withering poverty, to increase manufacturing industry, to extend commercial activity and wealth, and to promote agricultural interests—to give to Irish-

men a country, and to Ireland a name amongst nations, to spread abundance and comfort amongst the people, and to crown them with prosperity and constitutional freedom. Hurrah for the Repeal!

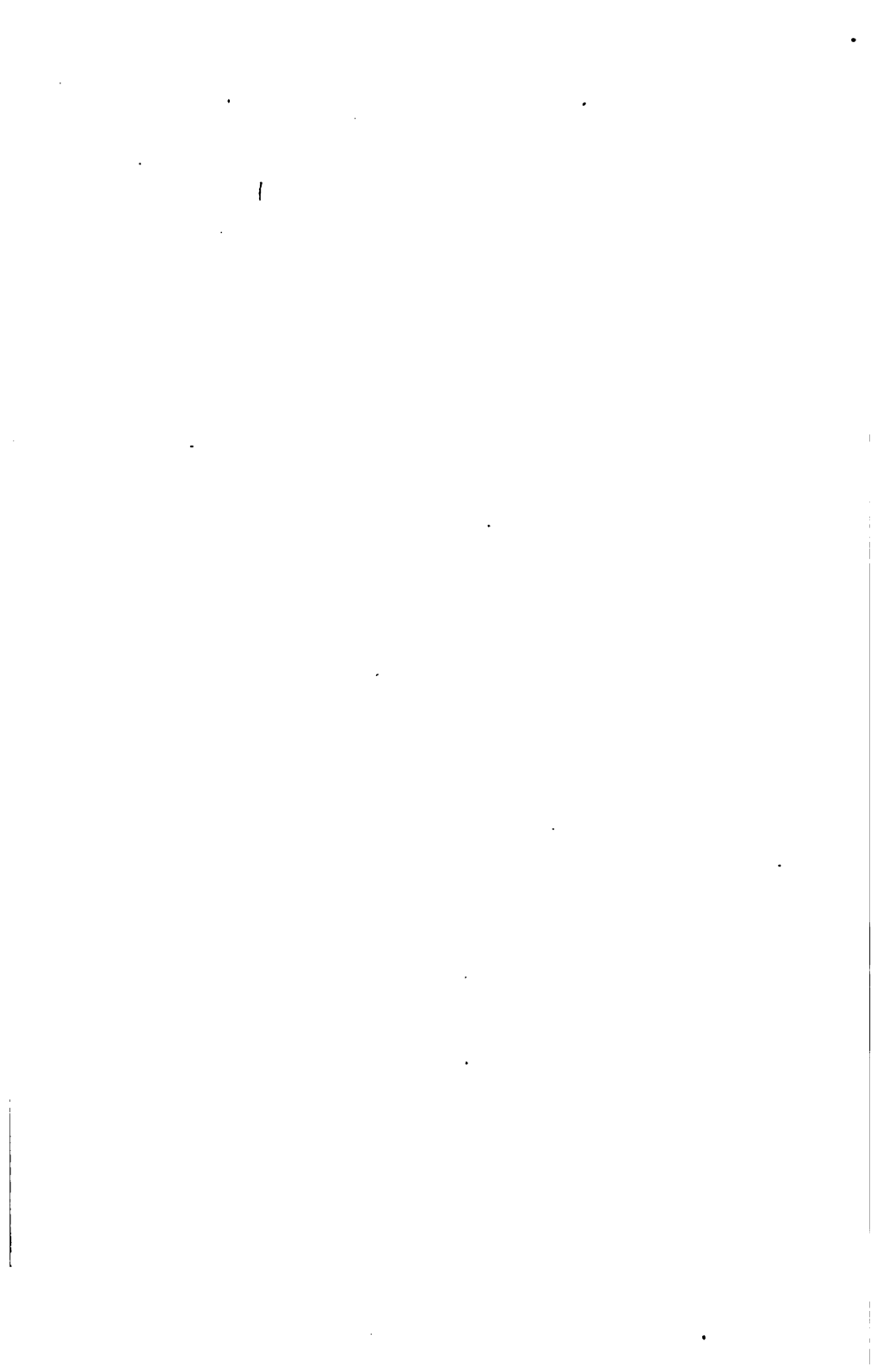
I have the honour to be,

My beloved and most respected Lord,

Your most faithful and obedient humble servant,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

*To the Right Rev. Dr. Blake,
Bishop of Dromore.*





APPENDIX.

No. I.

WE append the following letter of the Right Rev. Dr. Nulty, as an important addition to contemporary history. It is much to be regretted that public opinion in Ireland is not more generally heard in England; if it were much misapprehension would be saved, and, possibly, grave political blunders, if not worse, would be averted:—

THE COERCION ACT IN WESTMEATH.

To the Right Hon. Benjamin Disraeli.

SIR—You were a distinguished member of the committee appointed by the House of Commons in 1871 to inquire into the outrages alleged to have been committed in Westmeath at that time; and I distinctly remember with what punctuality you attended all the tedious sittings of that committee, from its opening to its close. The appointment of the committee itself, its composition, the character of its members, and the principle on which it was to carry on its inquiries—all gave rise to considerable excitement and to the interchange of heated party recriminations. While the committee was occupied merely with preliminaries, and before it held any of its regular sittings, we all felt that our liberty and independence were inevitably doomed. But it was of the witnesses summoned before the committee that the people arraigned before it had the greatest reason to complain. If it were assumed that Parliament, having resolved to annihilate our freedom, sought to discover

some colourable pretext to justify to the world the coercive legislation it contemplated, then the witnesses called before the committee would be in perfect harmony with the theory. Of all the witnesses summoned there was only one who could have the smallest sympathy with the people whose liberty was about to be immolated. I therefore stood all along alone. My testimony was exceptional throughout, and I differed on vital points with all the other witnesses. I deprecated coercion throughout; they all clamoured for it—all except Mr. Mooney and another; the latter, speaking from experience, preferred jury-packing. Yet nothing could be more natural than this essential divergence between us, for, with the exception of Sir Ralph Cusack, who gave his evidence with singular moderation and respect for our rights, they were all in the employment and pay of the Crown, or the avowed enemies of the people. Even if I had not positive certainty that the evidence given by them was substantially unsound, I should, for this reason alone, always maintain that on the question at issue it was not trustworthy or reliable. These witnesses were marvellously unanimous in proving the existence of a widespread, well-organised, and thoroughly-disciplined Ribbon confederacy, with recognised leaders, and with a code of laws, bound to each other by the sanction of a most awful oath, holding their meetings and maturing their plans in impenetrable secrecy, and spreading terror and dismay among her Majesty's peaceful and loyal subjects. And yet not a single witness examined could give direct testimony to the existence of this formidable confederacy that so alarmed them. They argued: you felt yourself confronted with this wicked conspiracy everywhere. And yet it was everywhere shrouded in darkness; its power was everywhere acknowledged; its authority everywhere obeyed; its vengeance everywhere dreaded; yet it was itself something invisible and impalpable. Its members were banded together under a fearful oath, and yet (if we except a piece of dirty paper found in the tap-room of a public-house) no one ever saw that oath. Of course, that oath must, in their theory, have been administered to thousands; yet no one was ever found to testify that it had been administered to anyone. Hundreds of the most degraded, the most needy, and most unprincipled of men must have been enrolled in the ranks of this confederacy; yet no reward, no amount of money, ever induced any of them to turn approver, even to the length, I will not say of bringing them to justice, but of giving a rational account of any of their proceedings.

To convince the committee, therefore, of the veritable existence of this confederation, your witnesses had to rely entirely on inferential or circumstantial evidence. The disturbed state of the county, they argued, the terror and dismay of peaceful men, the special character of the outrages perpetrated and the murders committed—all pointed evidently to the existence of a fearful Ribbon conspiracy, and could not be satisfactorily explained on any other hypothesis. I have read through the evidence taken before the committee

quite recently, and I cannot find there a single remark worthy of notice that is not substantially reducible to this argument. Unfortunately for us, this argument convinced the committee, and Parliament proceeded at once to the enactment of that precipitate, passionate, and penal legislation, whose galling and exceptional severity you yourself, sir, in your scathing philippics against Mr. Gladstone's Government, have so eloquently proclaimed. It was in vain that Mr. Seed, a Crown Solicitor, with an experience of more than forty years of our county—and with sympathies so avowedly hostile to us that his testimony was beyond all question—assured your committee that the outrages on which your witnesses relied were far less numerous and less criminal than those of former times, when no one thought of coercion. It was in vain that the Catholic clergy of Meath and Westmeath and King's County indignantly repudiated and denied, through me (as I conveyed to the committee), the existence of that Ribbon confederacy as a foul calumny, both injurious and unfounded. It was in vain that they referred the five murders, on which your witnesses principally relied, not to the operation of a Ribbon society, but to what everyone now knows to have been their true cause—the acts of personal, private revenge, the murderers being, in each case, isolated individuals, carrying out their designs with a secrecy and skill that precluded the possibility of detection. Parliament, after holding us up to the execration of all honest men in the empire as assassins or the abettors of assassins, as a community of miscreants, devoid of honour and humanity and religion, proceeded straightway with that penal legislation which strangled our liberty, despoiled us of our property by fines and penalties wantonly enacted, and then condemned us—robbed of reputation and of honour—to a degrading slavery. If Mr. Rochfort-Boyd correctly interpreted the wishes of the party which he is commonly supposed to represent, they would have felt satisfied, in 1871, with our enslavement for *two years*! They have now enjoyed the gratification of witnessing our slavery for nearly *four years*! Yet the same fierce instinct which then influenced them—instead of being appeased—now clamours to perpetuate our degradation indefinitely. And now, sir, it is time to inform you that her Majesty's subjects in this part of the empire have been arraigned again, and again put, for a second time, upon their trial. The magistrates of Meath, Westmeath, and King's County constitute the tribunal before which we now stand, with fear and trembling.

Your committee in 1871 was composed of distinguished, experienced, and honourable men—commissioned by the highest authority in the empire—who published their inquiries, and the result of their inquiries, fearlessly to the world. The magistrates, before whom we now stand accused, needed no commission from higher authority, and asked none. They authorised and commissioned themselves; they set themselves up to judge and adjudicate on our liberties, and—for aught we know—on our properties and very lives. We

objected to the credibility of the witnesses produced before your committee, on the ground that, notwithstanding the high personal character of some of them, all seemed profoundly and manifestly prejudiced against us. But it is the *sublime prerogative* of the tribunal before which we are now arraigned to require no witnesses; to dispense with the vulgar requirements of all other tribunals, and that the magistrates themselves should discharge at once the functions of *Judge, Jury, Witnesses, Accusers*. The presence or absence of the accused is quite immaterial in the *findings* of this tribunal. Men may be impeached and condemned here, not only without a hearing, but without a suspicion that any action has been taken against them. Your committee summoned, at least, one witness whose sympathies were notoriously on the side of the accused; and though you declined to follow my advice or carry out my proposals, you listened to them with respect and attention. But I was not summoned by the tribunal of the Westmeath magistracy. I did not apply to be admitted—for I felt sure that I should not be admitted—to give my people, in defending them, the benefit of the experience acquired before you. Now, sir, I do not intend to say one word disparaging to the private character of any magistrate in these three counties. Speaking from personal knowledge, I affirm that some of them, with whom I am acquainted, are as honourable, as just, and as kind-hearted as any men living; and having said this I will not even insinuate what I think of others. But, speaking of their public acts, what right had these magistrates to gather themselves together thus into secret conclave; to erect themselves into a Star-chamber tribunal; to sit in judgment on us, and listen to the defamatory declamation of stipendiary magistrates, accusing us, behind our backs, of crimes of which we had not the slightest knowledge or warning? What right had they to impeach us in our absence; to deny to us the privilege of defending ourselves; to condemn us in the dark, without judge or jury, and then pass us on to Parliament for punishment? These magistrates, therefore, with their secret tribunals—with their neglect of the essential forms of justice; with their refusal to the accused of the right to be heard; with their cruel and unjust findings against innocent, honest men; but, above all, with their deep-laid schemes and organised conspiracy against the liberty and constitutional rights of a large number of her Majesty's subjects—are certainly the nearest approach that I can find to the description that they themselves give of that pestiferous confederacy that spreads dismay among the peaceable inhabitants of these counties. And such is the impenetrable secrecy in which this Star-chamber tribunal held its deliberations, that it is only by the merest accident that we have recently discovered our accusers or our crimes. Mr. Marlay, of Belvidere, in an excess of zeal and loyalty to his party, has, unintentionally, I suppose, revealed both to us. Mr. Marlay assures us that the magistrates in other counties as well as those in Westmeath were unanimously of opinion that the great Ribbon

confederacy of 1871 existed still in full force and vigour, ready to burst forth as soon as the checks that held it in restraint were removed; and, consequently, that the same reasons that rendered the imposition of coercive legislation necessary in 1871 render a continuance of the same legislation necessary now.

Magistrates very often support their opinions by very loose and illogical arguments; but the magistrates of Westmeath did not leave themselves open to that imputation—for they advance no argument at all. The statement they make plainly contradicts itself. In 1871 the disturbed state of the county, the character of the outrages and of the murders that had been committed, proved unanswerably the existence of a formidable Ribbon conspiracy, and could not possibly be accounted for on any other hypothesis. And *now*, the absence of all crime, the cessation of every form of outrage, the profound peace and universal respect for law and order, prove exactly the same thing—the existence of this same confederacy! In 1871 we were murderers and rebels because we were Ribbonmen; and now we are peaceable and loyal subjects for precisely the same reason! In 1871 we were blamed and punished for our criminal acts, and now we are reproached and upbraided—and the Legislature is called on to punish us—for our criminal intentions! Our criminal intentions render us as culpable as our criminal acts, and merit for us exactly the same amount of punishment. Thus the magistrates of Westmeath have the glory of having invented and of having added a new species of crime to the criminal jurisprudence of mankind. They have arrogated to themselves a right which no human tribunal ever claimed before, because it is one of the exclusive prerogatives of the Deity. Human tribunals take cognisance of, judge, and punish criminal *free* acts; God alone judges and punishes *purely* criminal intentions. That this pestiferous principle was a recognised maxim of Westmeath magisterial jurisprudence is proved by a resolution unanimously adopted at a meeting of magistrates held at Mullingar in the year 1869, and which Mr. Rochfort-Boyd informs us was the largest meeting of magistrates ever held in Westmeath. This meeting was convened, of course, for purely coercive purposes; for when did the magistrates of these counties ever meet for any other object? After calling on the executive for the extension and aggravation of the penal enactments then existing; after demanding the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus*; after requiring that the magistrates and police should have the right to pay domiciliary visits, make arbitrary arrests, and establish a detective force in the several districts of the county—the Westmeath magistrates coolly wind up by demanding that a liberal grant of the public money be made for the purpose of establishing and subsidising a band of informers who will hunt up such information as will enable them to detect and bring to justice the perpetrators of *intended* as well as of *actual* crimes! Here are the very words of the resolution:—

"That a detective force for the several districts be organised; and, further, that the resident magistrates should be entrusted with funds for the purpose of acquiring information of intended as well as perpetrated crimes."

An intended crime is simply a future free act, and a future free act is simply nothing at all, and suggest even nothing reprehensible, except a purely criminal intention. Just fancy a gang of informers let loose among a people with express instructions to hunt up and bring to justice all those whom they might suspect of harbouring criminal intentions! Verily, the justice which the Westmeath magistrates would dispense is precisely the justice meted out at the fountain by the wolf to the lamb. "How dare you, sirrah, muddy my drink?" "That is impossible, sir," meekly replied the lamb; "for the stream flows down from you to me." "Well, if you did not muddy the stream," quoth the wolf, "you intended to do so, and that makes you just as culpable." "Why do you murder her Majesty's subjects and disturb the peace and order of her Majesty's shires?" "Why, gentlemen," we reply, "that is impossible, as no murder has been committed anywhere, and everywhere a scrupulous observance of law and order prevails." "Well, if you do not do so, you *intend* to do so, and that makes you just as culpable." Need I add that the people as well as the lamb go to the wall in the sequel. The local magistrates, having no reason of their own, rely entirely on the recommendation of the resident magistrates; as far as one can glean from Mr. Marlay's letter, that is the only rational ground they allege for the coercive legislation they recommend. The whole question, then, hinges on the weight and importance that a rational, experienced man would attach to the authority of these functionaries. A resident magistrate—as far as our experience enables us to judge in this locality—is, as a rule, a gentleman by birth and education; and I may add, too, a gentleman in his habits, his manners, and his style of living. He does not forfeit his rank by accepting this situation; he is recognised as a gentleman, and enjoys the privilege of associating with gentlemen everywhere. The power annexed to his office secures to himself personally the influence and respect that always attach to authority, whilst the liberal salary he draws enables him to provide the luxuries and comforts enjoyed by the highest and most respectable. As long as you keep him to the routine of his ordinary, recognised duties, he may be—and I am happy to testify that resident magistrates, as a rule, are—honourable, just, and conscientious; I may add, too, reasonable and kindly-hearted. But, if you take him out of the natural sphere of his usefulness, and put him in the face of a hotly-contested political question, in which the Government has taken a side, and has interests involved; or one in which a local magistracy, having much influence with the Government, think themselves seriously compromised—to expect, in these circumstances, that a resident magistrate, through a romantic affection for abstract justice, would express dissent, is

tantamount to expecting him to commit suicide. He would soon feel the penalty of his rashness in the loss of his situation; and that would imply the loss of position and influence, and sometimes, perhaps, involve the ruin of his family besides. It was, therefore, not only inconsiderate, but excessively unkind, to invite the resident magistrates to take part in a controversy to which their authority could add no weight, and in which they could hardly avoid compromising themselves; still worse, to shift on them the entire odium and responsibility of a resolution demanding the continued suspension of the constitutional rights of a large community. This hardship was largely aggravated by the fact that, as we learn from Mr. Rochfort-Boyd (Question 1,527), local magistrates have hitherto "denied the right of the stipendiary magistrates to attend any meetings of this sort."

But, painful and humiliating as is the position in which Mr. Marlay's letter has placed the resident magistrates, they can hardly expect much sympathy from us. They have, without provocation, arraigned us before a tribunal composed of the hereditary and, in some cases, the avowed enemies of our civil rights. They have accused us there of grave crimes of which they have not given us the slightest intimation or warning. They have accused us in our absence, where we could not be heard, and where we could not possibly defend ourselves. They have put into the hands of our enemies the only tangible arguments on the strength of which they could have the hardihood to ask for a continuation of our bondage. Grave charges, such as these—charges vitally affecting the dearest interests of a whole community—ought never to be alleged, even if they were clearly true, except with pain and reluctance, and always under the pressure of an overwhelming sense of responsibility. But when these charges are doubtful, or cannot be clearly established—nay, when they are positively untrue as well as unjust—then the responsibility of those who make them is great indeed. Now, it is my painful duty to attest that these allegations are utterly untrue. The Catholic clergy of Westmeath, after most careful inquiry and patient consultation with each other, have certified to the world, in a resolution published in the *Freeman*, that not a single trace of any Ribbon confederacy exists now, or has existed for years, in any part of the county. The statement, therefore, in which the resident magistrates affirmed the existence of such a confederacy, though made, no doubt, in good faith, did grievous injustice and wrong to the people of Westmeath.

And now, sir, this letter has become so unexpectedly long, that I promise to close it very briefly. The evidence taken before your committee was so conflicting on so many vital points, that it is quite refreshing, on reading it through, to find all your witnesses unanimous on the existence of one important fact, and to that fact all testified unhesitatingly—namely, that the vast majority of the people of these counties were peaceable, loyal, and in-

dustrious ; and that the miscreants who were the real responsible contrivers of the outrages that disgraced us were a mere handful, not numbering more than a dozen. The committee itself adopted that view in its "report," when it describes these men as "a few individuals who may be looked upon as the heads of the society, and are alleged to be known as such to the local authorities." Further, all the witnesses unanimously certified that these few leaders were notorious to the magistrates, to the police, in fact to everyone in the district. Some of the witnesses strongly impressed on the committee that the arrest and imprisonment of these men was the only means of restoring peace and tranquillity. It was argued, and with much force, that the people themselves would cheerfully consent to their own enslavement, and to the temporary suspension of their constitutional liberties, for the purpose of being relieved from the alarm and terror with which these few ruffians inspired them. The temporary suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act was recommended, and only as a lesser evil. No coercive witness ventured to suggest the perpetual suspension of this Act ; and Mr. Rochfort-Boyd (Quest. 1,549) declared that such a demand would be "repugnant to any man's ideas and feelings." These, sir, are the only intelligible grounds on which the Legislature could have enacted the penal legislation passed four years ago, and of which the magistrates of these counties now demand the indefinite prolongation. Immediately after the passing of this Act, several of these leaders were arrested and cast into prison. Now, sir, if a brigand or a highwayman whose excesses and outrages had filled an entire community with mortal fear, had at length, at an immense cost and sacrifice to that community, been captured and conveyed to prison, what would be thought of a man bearing her Majesty's commission of the peace, who would sympathise with that ruffian, mature such plans, and take such steps as eventually succeeded in getting him free ? Now, sir, that is exactly our case against a section of the very magistracy that are now clamouring for a continuation of our bondage. Among the "leaders" thus imprisoned there were two—*primi inter primos*—who were believed by every witness examined to have been the *fons et origo* of at least all the principal outrages perpetrated in one entire county. What has been the history of these men since their arrest ? That after having endured a short and tender imprisonment, they have been set free, and are now at large and in the very midst of us. The fact cannot be denied—I have it on high authority—that gentlemen holding her Majesty's commission of the peace, signed a memorial and presented it to the Executive, petitioning for the release of these "notorious leaders," and the Executive, in compliance, I presume, with the prayer of the memorial, as a matter of fact set them free.

Now, sir, let me repeat what I said before—that we know of no Ribbonism in these counties, save that which seems to be thus fostered and enco-

raged, and, I suppose, subsidised by a section of our magistracy. Perhaps you may remember the indignant incredulity with which this statement was met when I first made it, in that now famous pastoral of 1871, and in support of which I appealed to facts in my examination. I stated in that pastoral what I now repeat—that the Ribbonism I then denounced—

“Was got up by hired traitors for the sole purpose of enabling exterminating landlords to carry their projected clearances through with increased security and confidence. It is a matter of notoriety that two of the most cruel and extensive exterminators in this diocese had been Centres of Ribbonism in their respective districts, whilst carrying their inhuman clearances through. I have before me what I cannot but regard as solid grounds for believing that the relations still subsisting between exterminating landlordism and Ribbonism are the very reverse of unfriendly. . . . We fear that before many days we shall witness those secret societies co-operating with a weak and pusillanimous Executive in handing over the people to the tender mercies of a party that was never yet known to exercise absolute power with moderation, or with a due sense of the responsibility accompanying it.”

These, sir, were my deliberate opinions then, and they have since ripened, by observation and reflection, into mature firm convictions. And I confess, in looking back at the events of the last five years, I feel astonished how the Legislature could have been led into the enactment of harsh and exceptional laws against honest, loyal men, at the cry of a party, amongst whom were to be found the very men who, above all others, countenanced and encouraged the outrages which all good men deplore. And now, sir, let me add one word about Mr. Marlay, who moved the resolution adopted by the magistrates of Westmeath, and to which we have taken such serious objections. Mr. Marlay's character as a landlord stands very high with the people of this neighbourhood; and, therefore, they regretted bitterly that he should have lent his influence and his name to a movement so unfair in itself and so hostile to them. But, let me assure him that, though he saddened them much, they are not angry with him, for they believe that though he did them this grievous injury, he did it in good faith; and that the moment he discovers his error, he will promptly make ample and suitable reparation.

I have the honour to be, sir,

Your obedient servant,

✠ THOMAS NULTY.

Mullingar, February 18th, 1875.

No. II.

The following note, which has been communicated to us by a literary friend, will be of interest:—

“The first time I saw Mr. O’Connell was in Dublin, in 1822, after my return from London, at which time I was introduced to him by Charles O’Connor, Esq., of Merrion-square. Mr. O’Connell was then working hard for Catholic Emancipation. I remarked to him that I thought he never could bring it about; his reply was—‘No matter; we will persevere, and no doubt but we shall one day or other carry it.’ His determined manner and appearance struck me forcibly, and I could not help thinking that it was a pity he was not brought up as a military man, for he would have made an able general-officer. His zeal for his country, and his exertions in favor of civil and religious liberty, will hand his name down to posterity; while his private character, which is so exemplary as a husband, a father, and a friend, endear him to the recollection of all who have the pleasure of being acquainted with him in his domestic circle.”—*The Veteran; or Forty Years’ Service in the British Service. By Captain John Harley, late Paymaster, 47th Regt.* London: 1838. Chap. v., vol. ii., 148.

END OF VOL. II.

Kenmare Publications.

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"THE PALACE, KILLARNEY, *June 20, 1875.*

"MY DEAR SISTER IN CHRIST—I learn that you are issuing some new works, and some new editions of those already published; your literary labours reflect honour on your Convent, on your Order, and on this Diocese.

"But I rejoice much more in this, that you are contributing to supply one of our greatest needs—a Catholic Literature. I know, too, that the funds realised by the sale of your works are exclusively devoted to the service of religion.

"Praying God to bless you, and to preserve your health and strength,

"Yours sincerely in Christ,

"✠ D. MORIARTY.

"To SISTER M. FRANCIS CLARE (CUBACK),

"*Convent of Poor Clares, Kenmare, Co. Kerry.*"

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"Well may the Bishop of Kerry—himself a scholar of the highest order—take pride in the successful efforts of the Nun of Kenmare, and when giving his episcopal approbation to her works, say: 'Your literary labours reflect honour on your Convent, on your Order, and on this Diocese.'—*Cork Examiner*.

POPE PIUS AND THE POOR CLARES.

"In the midst of his troubles Pope Pius has found time to send an Apostolic letter to our countrywoman, Miss Cusack, known in religion as Sister Mary Francis Clare, Author of the 'Life of St. Patrick' . . . He compliments her on having completed 'a long and difficult work, which seemed to be above woman's strength, with a success that has justly earned the applause of the pious and the learned.' We believe this is the first time the Holy See has congratulated a woman on the success of her literary labours. And the compliment was never more deserved. . . . His Holiness does not forget the 'Island of Saints,' which now so keenly sympathises with his sufferings. The letter is a charming summary of the benefits conferred on Ireland by the Apostle, and a tribute to the learning and sanctity of his successors, who, in the sixth and seventh centuries, as Apostles and Missionaries, illumined the darkness of Pagan Europe with the light of Divine truth. The Poor Clares, in their seclusion in Kerry, must be delighted at this testimony to the genius and services of one of their community. The rarity of the tribute vastly enhances its value."—*Freeman's Journal*.

"It is worthy of note, as not a very frequent occurrence in the literature of the nineteenth century, that a religious lady, a nun in the 'sister island,' has been turning her time to such good account of late years that she has produced quite a crop of literature, and that of no mean order, including, besides a host of lesser works, a 'History of Ireland,' and a 'Life of St. Patrick,' both in quarto, the one containing six hundred, and the other a thousand pages. Miss Cusack is Hibernian—Irish of the Irish—and her name is well known in her native country, and especially in Dublin, as a painstaking, accurate, and able writer; and we are glad to learn that she has made the name of the community of Sisters at Kenmare a 'household word' through the length and breadth of Ireland. She has devoted herself heart and soul to works of charity and mercy, and she has been able to combine with those works a devotion to the Muse of history and of facts, which we do not often see realised except in such persons as Miss Strickland, Mrs. Everett Green, and Mrs. Cowden Clarke. Miss Cusack is not overstating her case when she claims for herself the credit of having written the first life of the great 'Apostle of Ireland,' which has 'given full details of his acts and missionary labours,' as it is certainly the first in which a real practical use has been made of the materials at hand."—*Illustrated Review* (London).

"As a literary work it can scarcely be lauded too highly. Every source of information has been thoroughly exhausted and collated, so that in the line of research

it is complete. The theological views and reflections, which are occasionally called forth by the subject, are so lucidly stated as to be clear to every intelligence, while at the same time rendered highly interesting by a fascinating style."—*The Morning Star* (New Orleans, United States).

"It is this *Life*, never before fully written for modern readers, that Miss Cusack, the nun whose fame as an authoress now stands almost too high for encomium, has undertaken to recount. The execution has been a wonderful success. For all that a graceful and flowing pen could do in giving expression to the results of unwearied diligence we were prepared, but we own we were astonished at the extent of this lady's scholarship."—*Irish Times*.

"Next after the Holy Scriptures and the Apostolical writings of the Fathers of the Church, no productions of Christian authors are of greater importance and value than the writings of the Saints. They have served to stir up the faithful to deeds of deep devotion and Christian heroism, and to plant the seeds of virtue and grace in many a fruitful soil. Whenever, therefore, a fresh attempt is made to describe and illustrate the life of one of the sanctified servants of God, we rejoice, if the work be well done and calculated to profit the immortal souls of those who may read it.

"The volume before us is very handsomely got up and illustrated, and consists of no less than 656 pages, and is in many respects a very important publication. In some respects it is an indirect reply to a recent treatise of the late Rev. Dr. J. H. Todd, who discussed at great length the subjects collaterally connected with St. Patrick. In other respects, its author has avoided controversy, trusting most wisely to a plain statement of undoubted facts for the results produced and the aim gained. The 'Preface,' occupies exactly twelve pages, and contains a terse and lucid defence of the principle on which the book has been written, incidentally referring to the archaeological discoveries of Mr. W. Hennessey, the Rev. J. O'Lavery, and others, which have notoriously thrown so much light on Irish Ecclesiastical antiquities. Most touchingly and beautifully is every detail in his important life dealt with in this volume. It is thoroughly Christian from beginning to end. It aims to be a standard work on the subject, and those aims are justly and deservedly satisfied. Learning, investigation, patience, careful criticism, and hearty devotion have all combined to render this book full of value. The style is pleasing, the information sound, and the conclusions solid and just."—*The Church Herald* (London).

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To-day we have to bring before their notice the same lady, not as a biographer, but as an historian. We do not, of course, agree with her views; but we can desire to see them fairly and fully stated, and can pardon a woman, and an Irishwoman, for giving expression to them in elegant and feeling terms. We may not agree with her politics, but we recognise in the Nun of Kenmare a writer of no mean order upon political questions, so far as they affect her country, her people, and her religion."—*Illustrated Review* (London).

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shepherd again upon his rath, to place the mailed warrior once more behind the loophole of his tower; to furnish a picture of the monk, and to give an echo of the hymn of praise which went up from Kilcrea and Timoleague, from Benedictine and Franciscan, from pious men and holy women. Such a task, it is needless to say, is one of great difficulty. It involves long and patient research, most diverse and often very profound study. The mere amassing of materials, however, is only a part, and that the subordinate part of the task. It is only the quarrying of the stones which the builder has to fashion. The capacity of the historian has to be exhibited in causing order to reign through the chaos, in so arranging the stuff in the loom that a distinct pattern shall run through it, in so ordering the telling of events and people that the story shall read as a tolerably continuous narrative without break or trying back or confusion. This task the Nun of Kenmare has accomplished with characteristic ability, producing a history that must be read with deep interest as well for the vivacity of its story as the importance of the events and circumstances with which it deals.

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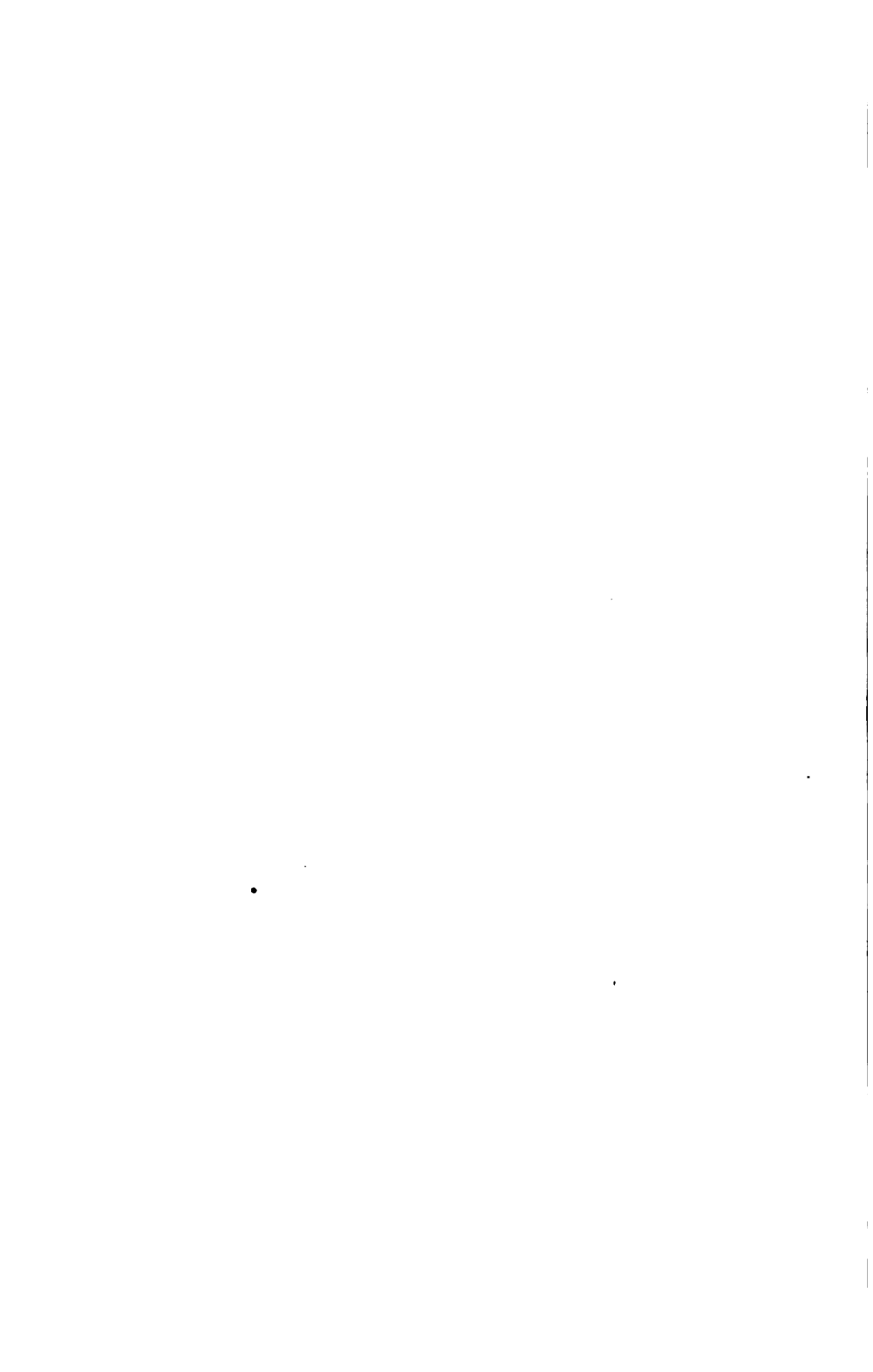
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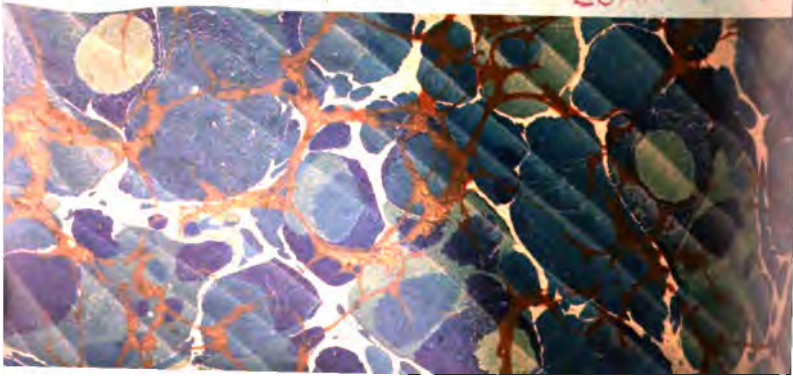
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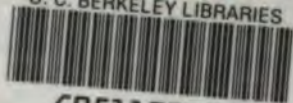
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